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THE

LAW OF POPULATION:

A TREATISE, IN SIX BOOKS.

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LAW OF POPULATION:

A TREATISE, IN SIX BOOKS;

IN DISPROOF OF THE SUPERFECUNDITY OF HUMAN BEINGS, AND DEVELOPING THE REAL PRINCIPLE OF THEIR INCREASE.

BY

MICHAEL THOMAS SADLER, M.P.

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THAT TO THE HEIGHT OF THIS GREAT ARGUMENT,
I MAY ASSERT ETERNAL PROVIDENCE,
AND JUSTIFY THE WAYS OF GOD TO MEN.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

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TO

HIS GRACE

HENRY-PELHAM, DUKE OF NEWCASTLE, K.G.

&c. &c. &c.

THESE VOLUMES

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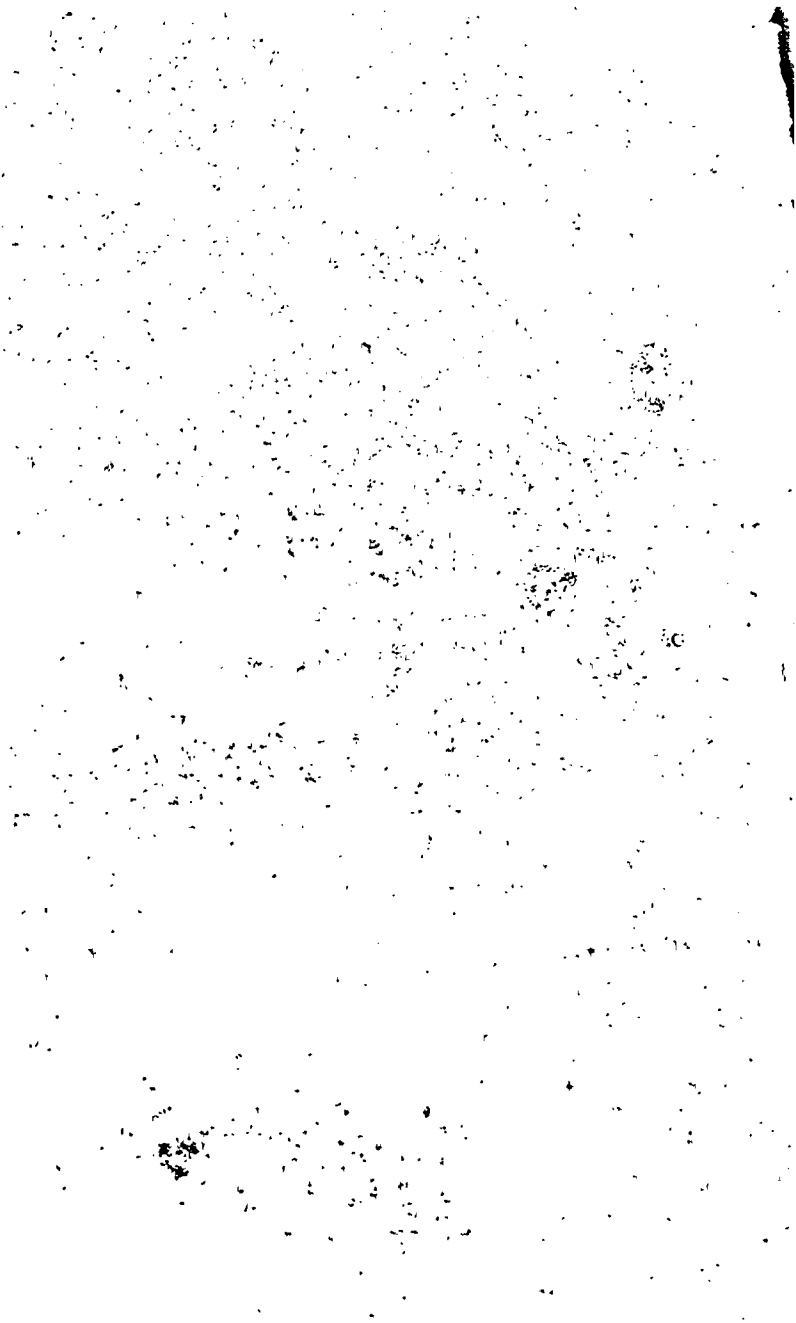

PREFACE.

HAVING, in a preceding publication, stated the reasons which induced me to undertake the present work, it is unnecessary for me to advert to them on this occasion; still more superfluous would it be to repeat what was then said on the great importance of the subject discussed in these volumes. The Principle of Population, highly interesting in itself, is, when considered as a *practical* question, manifestly one of the most important subjects which can engage human attention, as fallacious views concerning it necessarily lead to the most pernicious consequences. Two opinions are held, as to its nature and tendency. The one, that human prolificness is so regulated, as naturally to produce happiness; the other, that it exists in an excess, which has as constant a tendency to occasion misery. It is needless to add, that these different views, whether individually or nationally entertained, lead to principles and conduct diametrically opposite. Already, I think, the darker theory has, wherever it has prevailed, perpetrated more injury, particu-

larly on the poorer part of mankind, than any system ever previously embraced. Still, were it true, it would be the duty of mankind to receive it, and to bow to their unhappy destiny: but if otherwise, it is yet more imperative upon us to resist an error, which has been already widely injurious, and which is still rapidly spreading its baleful influence.

To prove, then, the utter fallacy of that theory has been one great object of the present treatise; but not the only one. It did not appear sufficient to disabuse the public mind regarding its pernicious dogmas, but, in order to prevent the possibility of its re-establishment, it seemed necessary to occupy its place by a contrary system, erected on the solid foundations of truth. It is hoped, that both have been accomplished; and that, in the Law of Population, unfolded in this work, as in all other principles of genuine philosophy, the light of truth is still accompanied by the warmth of benevolence.

This attempt, the latter part of it especially, involved much consideration, as well as long and laborious calculations, many of which are now omitted, on account of the space they would have occupied. These, at length, conducted me to a result which I now present to the public, with some confidence, as the true theory of human increase. Most of the time, which I could devote to this work, was thus occupied; little attention, therefore, could be paid to the merely literary part of the undertaking; indeed, more than two

thirds of it were written in a few of the concluding months of last year, and consequently in much haste. This is only mentioned for the purpose of withdrawing the attention of the reader from the manner in which the argument may be presented to his mind, in order to fix it more exclusively on the proofs by which it is established, and in behalf of which no such indulgence is solicited. But, with respect even to the latter, nothing can be more probable than that discrepancies and errors may be occasionally found, though it is hoped none of them will be of such a nature as to affect, in the least degree, the main argument. On other points I shall feel little solicitous, not at all so as to the attacks which may be made, not on the Principle enunciated, but personally on myself. Such attacks have been as vehement before the nature of my argument was known, as they can be after it shall have appeared, and as virulent as though, instead of vindicating, I had been engaged in some attempt to outrage the rights of humanity.

A feeling of deference to the public strongly prompts me to present some further apologies for the manner in which I have been obliged to submit these volumes to their consideration; such, for instance, as those which Sir Matthew Hale thought proper to make in his great work on a somewhat similar subject—apologies which are so much more applicable, as well as necessary, in my case, that it is with difficulty I suppress them. The present taste, however, so decidedly forbids

this course, that I forbear, and should not even have ventured to advert to the only one I have offered, had it not been for the purpose of explaining, that if, in the hurry in which these pages were written, (often, therefore, expressing the feelings of the moment,) any terms have escaped me regarding those whose theories I oppose, which can be construed into personal disrespect, I shall still more deeply regret the want of time and opportunity to reperuse and revise them. Not so, however, as respects the system they have, doubtless, thought it their duty to advocate; any terms, however strong, any language however severe, which may have been applied to that, I shall never soften or retract, believing as I do, that could we trace its effects, it would be found that it has already been the means of inflicting greater mischiefs than any error ever received, and that it threatens still deeper evils; in a word, that it is equally injurious to man and derogatory to his Maker.

It only remains that the circumstance of deferring the publication of a part of this work should be explained. I conceive that which is now presented fully proves the principle in question, and is so far complete in itself, independently of the two remaining Books, which, however, I hope will not be deemed unimportant. And if it be admitted that the Law of Population is demonstrated in the volumes now produced, the duty of publishing them at a period when the contrary and, therefore, false theory is in constant and increasing operation, is abundantly clear, as

it is also that I should but ill have discharged that duty, had I allowed the feelings of an author to delay this appeal to the public in the cause of humanity and truth. And in thus proceeding, I have the express sanction of one whose philosophy I have endeavoured to follow throughout, though at an immeasurable distance—Bacon, who, in a kind of soliloquy prefixed to his great work, comes to a similar conclusion and states reasons for it, in which I, perhaps, may be allowed, however humbly, to participate[1].

I now, therefore, submit to the public, what I conceive to be the true theory of human increase, aware that it will meet an opposition proportionate to the avidity with which the contrary notion has been received; and that it will have to encounter objections of the most varied, as well as opposite nature. Indeed, it has been already observed upon the principle, when merely enunciated in a foregoing work, that it is erroneous, —that it is old,—that it is new,—that it is whimsical and curious. I am not, however, discouraged. Similar objections were anticipated by the authority just referred to, even regarding his own principles,—" In diversas censuras incur-" sura: alia scilicet quod sint dudum peracta, et

[1] Decrevit prima quæque, quæ perficere licuit, in publicum edere. Neque hæc festinatio ambitiosa fuit, sed solicita; ut si quid illi humanitus accideret, extaret tamen designatio quædam, ac destinatio rei, quam animo complexus est: utque extaret simul signum aliquod honestæ suæ et propensæ in generis humani commoda voluntatis. Certe aliam quamcunque ambitionem inferiorem duxit re quam præ manibus habuit; aut enim hoc, quod agitur, nihil est: aut tantum, ut merito ipso contentum esse debeat, nec fructum extra quærere.—*Bacon, Instaur. Mag.*

" jam extent; alia quod curiositatem sapiant, et " fructum promittant perexilem; alia quod nimis " ardua existant, et fere impossibilia quæ ab ho- " minibus absolvantur."

Many, however, I cannot but hope, will receive the Principle now set forth, as consolatory to their best feelings, and in accordance with their most sacred duties, and that it will, therefore, meet with powerful advocates; but how feebly soever supported, or by whomsoever opposed, if true, it will finally prevail, and its triumphs will be those of humanity. These hopes were my encouragement in undertaking a subject necessarily laborious, and, in all respects, uninviting; and now that I have so far completed it, notwithstanding the inadequate manner in which I am conscious I have executed my intention, and the imperfection which will be but too apparent throughout, they constitute my reward. I have erected an altar in haste, indeed, and of rude, but I trust imperishable, materials; some happier hand may, perhaps, give it ornament and proportion, and render it less unworthy of the spirit of philanthropy, to which it is humbly consecrated.

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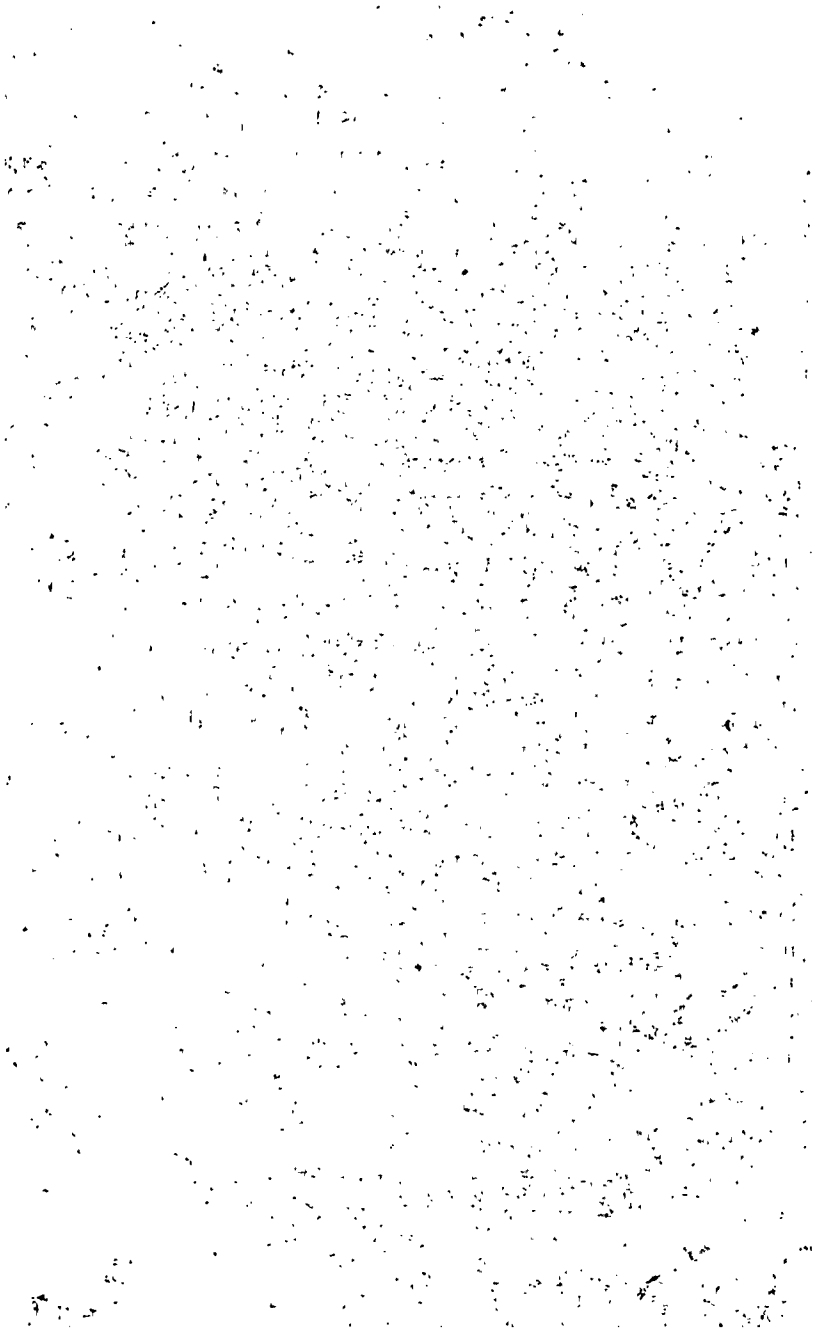
BOOK I.

OF THE THEORY OF HUMAN SUPERFECUNDITY: THE PRINCIPLE STATED AND DISPROVED.



CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

(1) The Law of Nature, or, to speak more intelligibly, of the Deity, which regulates the increase of mankind, has ever been regarded as one of the most momentous subjects open to human research; not merely as a highly interesting question of abstract science, but as of the greatest practical importance, necessarily involving the interests and happiness of the universal species, whether considered in their individual or collective capacity: this law, therefore, patriots and legislators have ever regarded as indicating their most essential duties; duties, indeed, which the voice of nature and reason dictates, and the sanctions of religion have rendered still more sacred.

(2) This principle of population has, it is true, like all other subjects, been occasionally contemplated in very different, and indeed opposite, points of view; when the various opinions touching its nature have led to the most adverse conclusions. In some of the theoretic speculations in which the ancient philosophers so much indulged, it was, perhaps, imagined as a possible source of future evil, for which, as some have supposed, remedies were anticipated, which modern philosophy, too often unconscious of the source of her superior illumination, is now taught to regard with horror. But, in justice to human nature, it must be confessed that the subject has been generally seen in the lights of benevo-

lence and truth, and, consequently, it has been the study of almost all nations, in every age of the world, how to multiply, rather than repress the numbers of their people. Since the Christian era, more especially, wherever the religion of civilization has been spread and established, such have been the principle and policy on which all nations have professed to act; notwithstanding the occasional murmurings and opposition of individual selfishness and ignorance; while all those mighty intellects which have arisen during this long period, destined to correct the past, and influence the future opinions of mankind, and amongst these, more especially, our own unrivalled countrymen, have, as with one voice, given witness to the same cheering view of this important question, and have recognized, in the growing numbers of mankind, not the signs or the instruments merely, but the very elements of human prosperity. The multitude, meantime, have arrived at the same conclusion, by the simple guidance of their feelings and observation; and have pronounced and perpetuated in their national proverbs, which may be regarded as the oracles of human experience, their stedfast faith in the sufficiency of eternal Providence. The question, therefore, seemed settled for ever upon these sacred foundations. Without dreaming of the necessity of any further inquiries or demonstrations, mankind, or at least the civilized part of them, beheld in the operation of this law, their affections, duties, and interests identified; and the attributes and operations of the Deity, as their creator and preserver, in perfect and everlasting harmony.

(3) Such, up to a late period, is the simple history of the question before us; and it were superfluous to add, that the doctrine of population thus founded upon public interest, as well as religious principle, became

the surest guardian of the rights and feelings of human nature, especially in its lowest and most helpless state, through all succeeding ages.

(4) But it was reserved for the present day, not more prolific in new theories than in the resuscitation of obsolete ones, not only to revive the contrary principle, but to add to it an universality of application, of which it was never before supposed susceptible; the principle, as one of its chief advocates expresses himself, never having previously "been sufficiently pursued to its consequences," nor the necessary "practical inferences drawn from it[1]:" its only claims to novelty, therefore, are the daring terms in which it is now propounded, and the dreadful lengths to which it is pushed: a theory which, we must admit with the writer alluded to, is indeed "pre-eminently clear," both as to its nature and its effects. It pronounces that there exists an evil in the principle of population; an evil, not accidental, but inherent; not of occasional occurrence, but in perpetual operation; not light, transient, or mitigated, but productive of miseries, compared with which all those inflicted by human institutions, that is to say, by the weakness and wickedness of man, however instigated, are "light:" an evil, finally, for which there is no remedy, save one, which had been long overlooked, and which is now enunciated in terms which evince any thing rather than confidence. It is a principle, moreover, pre-eminently bold, as well as "clear." With a presumption, to call it by no fitter name, of which it may be doubted whether literature, heathen or Christian, furnishes a parallel, it professes to trace this supposed evil to its source, "the laws of nature, which are those of GOD;" thereby implying, and indeed as-

[1] Malthus's Essay on Population, Preface, p. v., quarto edition, which is quoted throughout, except when otherwise expressed.

serting, that the law by which the Deity multiplies his offspring, and that by which he makes provision for their sustentation, are different, and, indeed, irreconcileable; that their adverse operation is not of such a nature as to produce superabundance and profusion, but insufficiency and want throughout all the tribes of animated nature; and that, as it respects mankind, in particular, these laws must be regulated by expedients, or rectified by checks, from the very contemplation of which humanity recoils.

(5) The moral effects of this theory, however, I leave for further and distinct consideration: but I cannot refrain from declaring, on the very threshold of the argument, that as, in the plain apprehension of the many, it lowers the character of the Deity in that attribute, which, as Rousseau has well observed, is the most essential to him, his goodness, or otherwise impugns his wisdom; as it disturbs our dependence upon Divine Providence, and weakens those feelings of complacency with which man ought to regard his fellow man, teaching human beings to view each other as rivals for an insufficient share in the bounties of nature, rather than as co-partners in an overflowing abundance, which still increases with their multiplication; and, above all, as it distinctly aims at destroying the sacred and long-established rights of poverty and distress,—it commits a deliberate outrage on the settled feelings and principles of mankind.

(6) This dispute, therefore, in which, let it be remembered, that this same system is the aggressor, cannot be conducted, as its advocates seem to expect, with the apathy of a metaphysical discussion or mathematical demonstration. If there be any themes on which "'twere impious to be calm," this is unquestionably one of them. An indifference, whether affected or real, in discussing

a subject which so deeply concerns the welfare and even existence of myriads of human beings, has not even the semblance of a virtue: for myself, if I have not conformed to the "candour" of the present age, as it is termed, I have imitated the honesty of preceding ones, in expressing myself with the utmost plainness and freedom throughout; and would send those who may think that occasional warmth in such a cause demands any apology, to one of those authorities to whom I shall often have occasion to appeal: "Men cannot contend coldly and without affection," says Lord Bacon, "about things which they hold dear and precious."

(7) If anything can heighten our feelings of painful surprise at the revival, in the Christian era, of this darkest notion of the heathen ages, it is the period at which it has been again brought forward, and more especially, the country which has, in this respect, "the bad pre-eminence" of having been its principal promulgator. It may safely be asserted of the various nations that form the European family, that from their first establishment they have, generally speaking, gone on increasing in population, and that this progressive increase has been accompanied by a more than corresponding augmentation in the means of subsistence; so that, from their foundation to this hour, there probably never was a time in which the inhabitants were so numerous, and the comforts of life so liberally shared as at the present moment. Exceptions there are to this general remark, but they are such as flow into the current of the argument and strengthen its force. Thus there are countries in which the number of the inhabitants has diminished, but they are those in which their condition has consequently deteriorated.

(8) But, not to anticipate a branch of the succeeding argument, I shall proceed to remark, that it was in

England, one of the most densely peopled, and most plenteous countries of them all, and at a time, as it is now confessed on all hands, when the united energies of her entire population were not more than equal to the salvation of the empire, that the doctrine of the redundancy of human beings, and especially of our countrymen, was broached. It is still more emphatically repeated at the present moment, when we presume to think it is equally clear that the combined efforts of her entire numbers are quite as essential to her preservation. In the period that has intervened, events of the most tremendous import, varying and reversing the state of things in rapid succession, have occurred, events that have had no possible bearing upon the subject under consideration; yet still, in all these fluctuations, whether distress has been apparently occasioned by a scanty supply of the necessaries of life, or from an "over production" of them[1]; whether the market of labour, as it is called, has been under-stocked, or over-supplied; in periods of the deepest gloom or the brightest glory, the doctrine has not merely kept its ground, it has continued to spread its triumphs. In the diagnosis of this empirical principle, the political Sangrado of the age, every symptom equally indicates the one sole disease, and demands the same specific; the evil exists in redundant population, for which it exhibits its nostrum, a compound of its "checks."

(9) But the truth is, there are ingredients in this system which render it palatable at all seasons, and to a great variety of tastes. It appeals to the strongest passions of the human heart; it allays the fears and flatters the selfishness of those to whom it addresses itself; it graduates the virtues of social life, or even changes their very character, as expediency or interest

[1] See Lord Liverpool's Speech, Feb. 1822.

dictates; and, above all, it absolves, in great measure, Wealth and Power from their deep responsibility; soothing the sloth and excusing the neglect, if not sanctioning the misrule, of those whose elevated duty it is to mitigate or remove the miseries of mankind, by attributing those miseries principally to the laws of nature[1], which it represents as propitious only to the prosperous, and inexorable to the destitute. It is thus, under the specious garb of an abstract truth, that the doctrine in question, whatever its advocates may advance to the contrary, becomes a pander to the mean esthough, alas! not the least prevalent or powerful passions of our nature, and is favoured accordingly.

(10) Another and a principal reason of the revival and spread of this notion is, that it has been adopted as the very basis of modern Political Economy, which is consequently placed upon a foundation unsupported by common sense, experience, or humanity. This system, made up of "shreds and patches," partly of truisms, partly of palpable blunders, but principally of a string of unconnected paradoxes, which, just as it happens, may be either, is self-elevated into the rank of a science, in which, such is the temptation, every one is at once a professor, and under a sort of immediate afflatus, utters oracles. Though all agree that the short and direct path of human interest has never been discovered, much less trodden, till their days, still no two of them concur as to its exact direction; on one point, however, they are unanimous, namely, in asserting the superfecundity of the human race, and consequently the necessity of checking its increase. It is in their capacity as zealots of this doctrine, that it becomes necessary to allude to them. It was the object of that true political philosophy which they despise,

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 367.

and would fain entirely displace, to raise the value and multiply the numbers of our countrymen; to spread the utmost possible degree of happiness amongst the greatest possible number,—objects of identical instead of incompatible pursuit, their notions to the contrary notwithstanding. On the other hand, it is the purpose of the new school to treat and regard men as animated machines, and indeed to supplant them by inanimate ones were it possible; to pronounce them as worthless or otherwise, just as it may please the capitalists (who, in proportion as they are diminishing in number, are becoming more powerful) to employ them or not; instructing the latter at the same time that they are under no imaginable obligation but what selfishness dictates, to encourage the labour of those by whom themselves are supported. Nay, so far has the mercenary principle of this school advanced, as to pronounce the virtues themselves marketable commodities[1]. The perfection of their system, therefore, would be the utter degradation of the species.

(11) It is not, however, by such dogmas as these that the momentous dispute before us will be determined; the question lies not between the people and the capitalists; if it did, and the latter pursue the course on which they seem bent, it would, I fear, be determined at length, very little to their satisfaction;—it is one which lies between the people and their God! It is simply whether, in reference to the present number of human beings, the earth is sufficiently productive; and, if we must carry our views into futurity, whether its potential produce, when fully developed, will still suffice for the numbers whom the Author of nature shall call into being, agreeably to those laws of increase which he has established. This is the precise question: meantime, it is somewhat strange, that the political

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 64.

economists can reconcile the unanimous conclusion at which they have arrived, with some of their own notions. They have produced volumes filled with definitions of the word capital, and yet they seem to forget that whatever it may be called, or however defined, it is that, and that only, which gives its possessor a command of the product of human labour; consequently that human beings constitute the wealth of the world. It is they only who create that wealth; it is they only who give it its value, when created. They have written, likewise, very much about the market of labour, as it is called, and yet they seem not to know, or, at all events, frequently to forget, that mankind are reciprocally producers and consumers; that, under proper regulations, they are equally necessary to each other, whatever be their numbers; that mutual wants are so balanced and connected in the mechanism of the social system, of which necessity is the main spring, as to produce that perpetual motion, the harmonious movements of which nothing but the interference of such philosophers can disturb or destroy. This mutual dependence of man upon his fellow man, whatever be the attempts to weaken it, and however successful they may be for a time, will ultimately be found as strong in the last, as it was in the first, stages of human existence; nay, far stronger, for reasons which are too obvious to be pointed out. As the body politic enlarges, all its members partake of the general growth; when, therefore, it has attained to its gigantic stature, still less than when it was in its infant state, can the hand say to the foot, "I have no need of thee." But the idea that mankind should outgrow their dependence upon each other, whimsical as it is, is far more tolerable than that they should become too numerous for the provision of their common Parent. Yet this last is the idea that Political Economy, and "the

Principle of Population," share in common, and continue to spread abroad by united and too successful efforts.

(12) There are, however, reasons of a less objectionable nature, that have greatly contributed to spread the principle about to be examined. It is so propounded as to avail itself of the weaknesses of the human intellect, as well as those of the heart. It is delivered forth as an abstract truth, in those generalities, in which, as the most exalted intellect the world perhaps ever beheld, observes, "the mind of man, to the extreme prejudice of knowledge, so much delighteth." The philosophy of Bacon was, indeed, especially opposed to them, and hence we find him constantly guarding us against "empty," "superficial," "barren" generalities, which, says he, "do but offer knowledge to scorn of practical men[1]," and we are plainly warned against acting upon them by a mind hardly inferior to his own. "Rules, sug- "gested by a view of such generalities," says Hooker, "however plain they may appear at first sight, ought "not to be trusted." The theory of population about to be considered is founded, however, upon "general and abstract ideas," which an authority of a very different order has well observed, "are, generally speaking, the source of all human error[2]."

(13) But the use of terms from the exact sciences, geometry and arithmetic, to which mankind have long been in the habit of associating the idea of certainty, in the enunciation and pretended demonstration of this theory, has more than all contributed to betray many ingenuous minds into this prevailing delusion. The former science, indeed, it is almost unnecessary to remark, has nothing whatsoever to do with the ratio which bears its name. Applied to the mensuration of human fecundity, "the most fallacious of all things,"

[1] Bacon's Works, vol. iii., p. 155. [2] Rousseau.

to avail myself of the language of Burke, "is geometrical demonstration." The arithmetical ratio, the other pillar, as is supposed, of this system, is still more inadequate to the office to which it is assigned. Those who set about computing or expressing the magnitude or amount of the mercies of the Eternal Parent of mankind, by its utmost powers, will find themselves baffled, and will have to exclaim, with a sacred bard of ancient times, "If I would count them, they are "more in number than the sands; if I would declare "and speak them, they are more than can be num-"bered!" At all events, they ever have been, and will still remain, equal to the wants of all human beings; yet, strange as it may appear, two rows of figures, calculated on different principles, and placed parallel to each other, have convinced numbers to the contrary. So true is the observation of a writer, not very remarkable for his humanity or religion, that "the mathe-"matics are made use of in every thing, even where "ridiculous, and men seem to repose no greater trust "in Providence than they would in a broken mer-"chant[1]." In darker ages, indeed, many busied themselves in pourtraying the person of the unseen God, or in illustrating his mysterious essence by mathematical diagrams; and such, I humbly conceive, acted a far less irrational and irreverent part, than those who affect to measure the mighty deep of his mercies by their arithmetic, and to demonstrate, by their geometrical ratios, that it is inadequate to receive and contain the efflux of that fountain of life which is in Him!

(14) Let it not be imagined, however, that the sciences which have done so much to serve the interest, and enlarge the understanding of mankind, are impugned. It is their misapplication, in reference to the

[1] Mandeville's Essay on Charity, p. 368.

subject about to be considered, and their consequent degradation, that is the sole ground of the preceding remarks. On the other hand, I trust it will appear in the ensuing treatise, that, when rightly applied, they add their demonstrations to those in the volume of nature, "known and read of all men," which establish the principle of population as one of equal wisdom and benevolence.

(15) The last reason that shall be here adduced for the spread of this notion of the superfecundity of the human race, is the confidence with which it is pronounced and repeated, and the strong facts by which it professes to be demonstrated. The human mind, thus assailed, generally declines the labour of an apparently useless examination, and naturally reposing some degree of trust in the authorities it consults, surrenders itself up to a settled conviction, which it is unwilling afterwards to have disturbed. The present controversy, it is hoped, will furnish another and a striking proof, how detrimental to the cause of truth it is thus to resign the judgment without due examination, especially in regard to those specious novelties which affect the feelings or touch the interests of mankind, and which are generally the more vehemently maintained the less satisfactorily they are proved. In this instance, it will be found that the theory about to be examined cannot stand the test of even its own principles, much less those of truth. It has neither taken sufficient heed that its facts, which are denominated demonstrations, should be truths, nor been mindful of the ancient maxim, that its suppositions should be possibilities. These are grave charges; the ensuing pages, it is believed, will fully substantiate them: the attempt to do so will necessarily throw much of the work into a controversial form, so little desirable in an elementary treatise, and indeed into what is still less so, under any circumstances,

the appearance of a personal debate; one author in particular, the avowed renovator and champion of the system, having probably embodied in his book all that had been previously advanced in its favour, and "sufficiently pursued it to its consequences." The controversial part is, however, essential to the whole; the theory just alluded to, having, unhappily, present possession of the ground, if I may so speak, must be demolished before the foundations of a contrary one can be laid.

(16) Such, then, are some of the principal causes, which have given prevalence to the doctrine of the superfecundity of the human species; each, when separately considered, has, no doubt, had its particular influence, but their united effect has been its general diffusion. Modern philosophers now receive it on pain of forfeiting their title to their very name; periodical writers almost unanimously espouse it, and unceasingly spread its dogmas through every part of the earth; legislators seem upon the point of reducing the system into practice; monarchs have already acted upon it; and even many of the expounders of our religion, though they cannot pollute the well-head of revelation with its "principle," yet are busily engaged in tinging the stream with its pernicious admixture. Books are published, and sermons written expressly on this system; even the moral code is revised in reference to it, and new virtues and vices are promulgated in conformity with the new theory of population. Yet, notwithstanding this active coalition in its favour, I venture to prognosticate that its triumphs will be short; the moment that renders it a practical question, to which it seems on the eve of being reduced, will give the signal for its destruction. The insults it levels at God, and the injuries it meditates inflicting upon man, will be endured by neither.

(17) Meantime, the pertinacity with which this

notion is retained, however it was imbibed, is far less remarkable than the eagerness with which it has been embraced. Philosophy, as it is well known, has not merely its fashions, which, like those of manners, are deemed indispensable, however absurd; but it has its prejudices, which the history of every age can testify are, at least, as strong as those of ignorance. That it has its pride was never doubted. Hence is it that so many conceive, that to resign principles which they have once espoused, and perhaps warmly advocated, would be to subscribe to their own degradation. The more cogent and unanswerable, therefore, the arguments are which are brought forward against their adopted notions, the more determined their adherence to them becomes; and, indeed, some such have been heard to declare, in allusion to this very subject, that they would as soon resign their belief in the first propositions of Euclid as in those of Malthus.

(18) To such as these, if the succeeding argument addresses itself at all, it does so with very slight hopes of success, and with the full expectation of their utmost hostility. It appeals principally to that unbiassed judgment and unabated humanity, which inspire the great mass of the people; to those, who, never attempting to soar into those abstract regions from whence the doctrine in question has been professedly brought, have never fallen into those depths of absurdity and miscalculation into which it will be seen that it has precipitated itself. I say, it is to the unsophisticated sense, and to the unquenchable feeling of the British people that I appeal; and careful and slow as the decision may be, and very possibly deferred till I can no longer hear the result, I am confident as to its nature: it will be in favour of the system of humanity, of religion, and of truth.

(19) But before I enter upon the task of refuting the

system in question, it may perhaps be expected that I should take some notice of the many volumes that have been already produced in answer to it. It has happened, however, that I have seen very few of these, and read still fewer. Many of them are, I understand, written with great ability and learning; but having satisfied myself that the main, and, as it strikes me, the only final and irrefragable answer to such a theory, namely, the development and demonstration of a contrary principle of human increase as the law of nature, as hereafter explained, has hitherto been undiscovered, at least unadverted to; and as it is on this foundation that the argument will be finally placed, I trust the present work will not be deemed superfluous.

(20) That there is great apparent difficulty in the principle of population, when superficially viewed, or, what is still more fatal to its being understood, viewed through the medium of some pre-conceived system of philosophy or politics, is undoubtedly true. The most striking facts that present themselves on the subject, if viewed singly, and abstractedly from the circumstances with which they are connected, or in numbers insufficient to form any accurate and uniform result, may themselves betray the mind into the false deductions about to be examined; and they have done so. Thus it is undeniably true, that human beings, in the first stages of society, in new colonies for instance, are extraordinarily prolific: it is equally so, that they increase far more slowly in a more advanced state, when the population has become great, and, consequently, condensated. If we were not to admit the former fact, there would be no possible way in which to account for the peopling of the world, nor any by which the planting of new colonies and coun-

tries could be accomplished, or the numbers of mankind, when accidentally wasted, replenished,—circumstances which have occurred in almost every age of the world. On the other hand, admitting the prolific power of the human race to remain the same, which is assumed by the system in question, it is impossible to evade the conclusion to which it conducts us, namely, that population has, ultimately, a tendency to exceed production. Laying aside those pretended demonstrations which have certainly confused rather than illustrated the subject, still it must be admitted, that if mankind have a constant and necessary tendency, under all circumstances, to this increase, they must, if unchecked, ultimately outgrow the means of sustentation. Give whatever latitude you please to the combined effects of human industry and the fertile powers of nature, even till the globe were converted into one entire mass of human sustenance, still human sustenance has then its limits, namely, those of the globe itself; whereas the powers of human increase, on the above hypothesis, would still remain the same, and be infinite and inexhaustible, and would consequently exceed those means, as far as the principle was concerned, in an infinitely increasing ratio: that is, granting the ETERNITY OF THE WORLD, which all the advocates, Christian or otherwise, of this revolting scheme, necessarily assume as a postulate in all their demonstrations. But more of this hereafter. To avert this catastrophe, as well as to reconcile the existing state of mankind and the variations in their prolificness in different states of society, these philosophers enunciate a set of checks, the degrading nature, and partial and cruel operation of which, as well as the gross mistakes manifested in reference to their supposed effects, will be matter of distinct con-

sideration. Meantime they seem to triumph in the very answers that have been made to their theory, claiming them as arguments in its favour, and maintaining that they all ultimately resolve themselves into their system, though somewhat modified; recognizing the necessity of checks of a very similar character, at a somewhat remoter period.

(21) The following treatise will, at all events, stand clear of this last imputation: it is founded on principles essentially different, and the views it takes of the structure and interests of society are diametrically opposite. Touching the law of human increase, it upholds it to be in exact harmony with, instead of opposition to, that of the increase of the means of human sustentation, if properly developed; and that in all the different states of society, the variations in which it seems adequately to account for—that increase, instead of having to be regulated by checks abhorrent to humanity, is governed by an unerring rule of nature, as merciful in its operation as in its purpose. This law, which though "not dreamt of in their philosophy" who have written so much about, or rather against, population, is yet perfectly consistent with every physical observation on the human species which has the slightest bearing on the subject, and proved by all the registers of human existence of every age and country, accessible to present examination. Even the exact sciences, under the direction of reason and truth, demonstrate its existence. It harmonises with the best feelings and affections of human nature, unites in bonds of mutual kindness and interest the brotherhood of mankind; and, in fine, investing itself in the characters of truth, and speaking the language of benevolence, it asserts its divine origin, and makes good its claim to

the inimitable description of Hooker, who, after having been "considering of food, as of a benefit, which "GOD of his bounteous goodness has provided for all "things living," exclaims of that law of "Almighty "Providence," of which this forms so essential a part, "of her no less can be acknowledged, than that her "seat is the bosom of GOD, her voice the harmony of "the world; all things therein do her homage, the "very least as feeling her care—the greatest as not "exempted from her power."

(22) The extreme desirableness of such a law of nature, thus governing, without the intervention of unnatural or cruel expedients, the measure of human increase, so as to proportion the number of mankind to their means of subsistence, is, in itself, no mean argument in favour of its existence; it would, indeed, be a strange and solitary instance in the economy of nature, if a visible improvement could be suggested in her most essential operations. But a law of human increase, which should multiply the species rapidly, where such multiplication would be obviously advantageous, regulating that increase through all the intermediate gradations of society, so as to reconcile it to the interests and necessities of mankind,—and causing it to pause at that point, where further numbers would cease to be a benefit, or could not be sustained,—and that this law should operate by such means as would administer to the virtue and happiness of the human race,—would be that improvement on what is now deemed to be the principle of population. *A priori*, therefore, the presumption is, that the better principle will, on examination, be found to be the true one. We are, moreover, strongly warranted in presuming the existence of some such law. Some of the happiest and most successful

efforts of moral philosophy in modern times have been those which have demonstrated the existence, and exemplified the wisdom and contrivance, of the Deity, especially in the structure and functions of animated existences, by shewing that similar purposes have been effected by corresponding contrivances in what are called mechanical inventions [1]. I need not give instances; they pervade the whole of animated nature. Thus the great national machine, for such I suppose I may denominate the steam-engine, has that within itself, which though influenced by the same impetus, moderates and controls the velocity of its movements: this important instrument, almost inert and quiescent at first, gradually expanding, and thereby increasing its counteracting power, as the general motion becomes accelerated, checks its velocity, and contracts again as that abates, so as to equalize and regulate the motions of the whole; the significant name of this is, I believe, "the governor." A similar power, infinitely more necessary to control the movements of human population, I contend, exists in nature; and to prove that it so exists and operates, is the purport of the present work.

(23) The desirableness of such a law, or regulation, in nature, when I have mentioned it as having deduced it from existing and unerring facts, I have never once heard doubted; its existence, constantly: and this, simply, because I could not then render a philosophical reason for what I had already discovered to be a physical truth. It appeared mysterious, and was consequently to be disbelieved, however true. This I mention to warn the reader against a similar delusion. How, I would ask, should this law be otherwise than inexplicable in its nature and operation, when every thing

[1] Paley's Natural Theology, passim.

connected with the subject is enveloped in impenetrable mystery? No great stickler for miracles, Rousseau, has observed, that "in the generation of animate "and organized bodies the human mind is lost, as in an "abyss[1]." Reproduction through all the innumerable tribes of animal, and even vegetable, existence, is, in every single instance, a miracle, to which nothing but the continuous evidence of our senses could reconcile our belief; one, indeed, which learning, and imagination, and experience, have long attempted to penetrate and expound; but which, after all, the most recondite professor comprehends as imperfectly as the untutored peasant. The various laws to which this principle conforms, in effecting its purpose, necessarily partake of the occult character of their origin; and it is only in the result that their multiform operation becomes manifest: then is it that all the infinite variety, whether of time, place, or mode—all the seeming disconnexion and confusion involved in the complicated process of unceasing renovation, are seen resolving themselves into that harmonious system, all whose parts are mutually dependent, and the minutest essential to the great and everlasting purpose of the whole. The miracle of creation is thus unceasingly repeated, and, connecting itself with that of Providence, with an additional train of infinitely minute and complicated calculations, extending from the ubiquital centre to the boundless circumference of the universe, man beholds this "mighty world of wonders" refreshed and replenished with that life, happiness, and beauty, with which it was first invested; and yet, "wandering oft with brute unconscious gaze," he affects to reject and ridicule miracles!

[1] Rousseau, Essay on Education, t. ii. p. 29.

(24) Let not, however, the preceding observations be misunderstood; the incomprehensibility of the principle of reproduction is not appealed to for the purpose of sheltering the theory enunciated in this treatise, nor the proofs by which it will be substantiated, from the most rigid examination. All the facts which nature presents are but familiarised miracles; and if the system I announce, proved as it will be, add another to the number, it is not therefore to be rejected. Meantime it must be confessed, that the system I hope to replace seems "pre-eminently clear" from all possible objections on this ground; I am not aware that it has attempted to enlarge the boundaries of natural philosophy, or added one discovery to physical science, or fatigued itself with any laborious calculations founded on known facts; it has, therefore, escaped all objections, and avoided all examinations, on those grounds. It has, however, amply avenged itself upon moral science, with many of whose doctrines and duties it has made unsparing havoc. But to revert to the mysteriousness of the principle about to be advanced, if that be made the ground of its rejection, further consideration will convince us that the objection lies with tenfold weight against that to which it is opposed, which would have us to believe that the complicated operations of an all-wise Providence are so calculated as to spread misery, if not frustrated by the interference of human beings;—that the universal scheme is, after all, imperfect, either in intelligence or benevolence. This, were it true, would appear, in the book of nature and of Providence, a miracle indeed,—a miracle of malignity. In a word, both systems appeal to the same principle, that of reproduction; a principle incomprehensible in itself, and plainly the work of Supreme Wisdom: the

difference is this, the one represents this principle as a blind and unbending law, naturally operating alike, whether for good or evil, under all circumstances, and in every stage of society; which ridicules the interference of the Deity, when it is hardly consistent with a belief in Him to conceive that he would not interfere; and which is therefore perfectly palatable to atheism, or to that version of atheism whose god is asleep, or afar off, regardless of the creatures he has made: the other maintains that the law of increase is naturally and necessarily regulated by the circumstances of that race of beings which it exists only to perpetuate, and consequently perpetuates in numbers and proportions most conducive to their happiness and welfare. It therefore recognises the perpetual presence of the Deity, either in his immediate and unceasing providence; or, what perhaps still more highly exalts our ideas of his infinite perfections, in that unerring prescience, which, joined to his power and goodness, has anticipated from everlasting all the contingencies of human existence; and, by an uninterrupted series of secondary causes which runs through time, and connects it with eternity, has adequately provided for them: thus is it that the Prince of Poets represents the omnipotent Father, grasping in his almighty hand that golden chain, bright with benevolence and mercy, by which he sustains from the heights of eternity his universal offspring.

(25) That these theories cannot co-exist as separate truths, or, that a system cannot be made up of parts of both, needs hardly to be observed. They are utterly irreconcileable in their nature and in their effects. "Between existence and non-existence," says Bishop Taylor, "there is an infinite distance." Between these principles there is that distance. Nor in

their influences and effects can they ever converge. No human language, therefore, can adequately describe, much less exaggerate, the variation. The opinion that the Supreme Being has left his offspring to be regulated by the inflictions of this Manichean principle, and that which places them in the hands of a kind and superintending Providence, are "contrarieties at war." In no stage of human existence can they be confounded. At the very portal of life the one stands with "aspect malign," measuring, with sinister hand, the exhaustless numbers; perpetually preaching and prophesying against the redundant stream of human existence, and, doubtless, not in vain: the other hails the effluence of life and immortality in strains which gladden all nature, and gratify heaven itself. Further onwards in the pilgrimage of life, the former principle, like the murderous spirit of Macbeth, sees, with fearful and frenzied eye, every place in [1] life's great feast pre-occupied and full; and would, therefore, scourge from "the temple of nature" the poor, the wretched, and the destitute, who are disturbing her bidden guests, the [2] patentees for food. The latter, on the other hand, sees in the same entertainment, whether as it respects "room or food," after the privileged classes are fully satiated, "enough and to spare," and it therefore bids the universal family of man to the banquet of nature; yea, calls the poor and the lame, the halt and the blind; and those that have no money, no "patents for food," it kindly constrains, compels them to come in. Seen in the haze of futurity, their characteristic differences seem enlarging: the one threatens future, and still increasing, miseries, as the inevitable lot of human beings, if the holiest laws of nature are not insulted and outraged; when

[1] See Malthus's Essay on Population, p. 531, &c. [2] Ibid., p. 398, &c.

a swarm of unnameable offences would doubtlessly ensue, and add indescribable pollution to universal misery: the other points to coming days of unexampled prosperity and peace, promised indeed in the anticipations of philosophy, as well as in the prophecies of religion, when the increasing prevalence of all the social virtues shall augment the numbers, and heighten the happiness, of mankind, till the human family shall more fully occupy the earth, and the benevolent purposes of the Deity become more plainly unfolded, and more perfectly accomplished. Nor does the rivalry of these principles end here, nor terminate even with time itself. To man is not only confided the custody of his own existence, he is the trustee, if I may so speak, of that of all future generations; both are guaranteed by the strongest laws that are impressed upon organised life; let him take heed how he rashly violate his trust!

> What myriads wait in Destiny's dark womb,
> Doubtful of life or an eternal tomb!
> 'Tis his to blot them from the book of fate,
> Or, like a second Deity, create!
> To dry the stream of being in its source,
> Or bid it widening win its restless course;
> While, earth and heaven replenishing, the flood
> Rolls to its ocean fount, and rests in God!

The theory for which I shall contend, prescribes obedience to those natural and moral laws which are too clearly enunciated to be mistaken, and leaves the event to Him in whom are the issues of life and death. That which I oppose would extend its influence beyond even the bounds of time, and, in regulating the population of this world, would regulate that of the next! Viewed then in the lights of eternity, how does this subject appear? Its slightest features enlarge into infinity, and become fixed for ever. Then the meanest of those

human existences, which a grovelling principle would teach us to regard as valueless, or worse, is invested with that which swells its worth above that of all the "capital" upon earth; beyond the boasted powers of geometry or arithmetic to compute,—with immortality! Contrariwise, those things which that principle represents as of primary consideration, and makes the foundation of its varying code of virtues, are then seen stripped of their fictitious value; even life itself seems but as a short parenthesis in the page of eternity, "signifying nothing," except in connexion with the import it bears to the language of that mysterious volume. But this principle, running counter to all the feelings and duties of mankind in this life, would finally render the concerns of eternity subordinate to those of time; and all from a vain and selfish fear, that the Being who created all, who preserves all, who clothes the lilies and feeds the ravens, without whose notice not even the sparrow falls, and who, knowing that we "have need of these things," should not clothe, and feed and sustain, those for whom he principally created the world which he has given to the children of men.

(26) As some of the last ideas have clothed themselves in the language of Scripture, and as, possibly, similar instances may appear in the course of this work, it will be well to state, thus early, the way in which such quotations, which will neither be sought for nor avoided, will, if they should occur, be used. To those who embrace the truth and authority of the Divine Records, they will be more than mere illustrations; by those who are unhappy enough not to be of that number, they cannot be regarded as less—as even the latter are themselves often found enforcing their meaning by similar allusions. Dr. Johnson has too well defended the practice, which is abundantly illustrated by

all the best authors in the best periods of our language, to render any apology from me necessary. I trust, therefore, as no part of the ensuing argument will be built on proofs derived from Divine Revelation, that quotations from it may be tolerated, as so many passages from Homer or Virgil, by those upon whose opinion they will make no other impression. Not that by thus expressing myself, I would disclaim the decisive evidence which Revelation affords us on this momentous point. God forbid! If ever there was a subject which connects itself with the very principles of our religion, it is this. Sir Matthew Hale, who wrote a folio book upon it, so treated it throughout his invaluable work. Even the divinity of Heathenism was full on this point. Christianity is decisive. Not that Christianity which gives, in the estimation of some, so "pleasing a proof of its truth," by accommodating its doctrines to the dogmas of the day, making, therefore, "virtue itself ambulatory," but that which never did, nor ever will, at the instance of all the philosophers in the world, resign one jot or tittle of its principles or precepts till all its purposes are fulfilled; and which has, a thousand times over, and especially on those points on which, for a time, it was thought the most untenable, vindicated itself as the only true and permanent system of moral philosophy in the world. This religion, none can deny, enjoins those virtues which infallibly tend to the increase of that "evil," which the darker theory of Population has pronounced to be fatal to the interests and happiness of mankind, forbids those fears which it is its main purpose to infuse, and enjoins that confidence which it would fain destroy; while the views it takes of the rights of poverty and distress, and the duties it ordains, in reference to them, are as opposite to

those held by the latter, as light is to darkness. Those who regard the subject in the sacred light which this divine religion pours upon it,—and happy is it for the present and future interests of humanity, that they infinitely outnumber those noisy declaimers who totally disregard it,—have no need to be invited into the present controversy. They may doubt or differ upon other topics, but on this they are fully confident and unanimously agreed, namely, that a God of infinite goodness would not create those whom he could not sustain; neither would a God of infinite purity contemplate means, concerning which he has expressed his abhorrence, in order to obviate the supposed difficulty. Though the argument may be unnecessary to such, still, if it demolish a theory, of which infidelity and vice are already availing themselves; if it uncover a link in the chain of that Providence which they were conscious had ever sustained them, though it was concealed from their view, it cannot but unfold to them matter of pleasing contemplation. By adding another to those innumerable instances which ought already to have taught mankind that accusations against Providence ultimately resolve themselves into proofs of human ignorance, and consequently that it is the duty and wisdom of mankind, firmly to confide, even when they can no longer fully comprehend,—they will refresh their minds with one of the most important and consoling truths of their religion, and

> ——— learn that to obey is best,
> And love with fear, the only God; to walk
> As in his presence; ever to observe
> His providence, and on him sole depend,
> Merciful o'er all his works.

(27) From the calm and elevated view of the subject which the language of our great poet inspires, I must now descend into the thorny paths

of controversy, which I shall pursue, without, I hope, personal rancour; but, certainly, without that compromise of either feelings or principles, which is now denominated candour,—a sacrifice, which, I confess, I cannot think is due to those who advocate the contrary system, notwithstanding their mutual compliments to each other on this head; and, more especially, if we advert to their treatment of the real objects of the dispute, the poor and destitute, who, notwithstanding the dogmas of Political Economy, it is impossible, in the nature of things, can ever cease out of the land. To this subject, however, I shall more particularly advert on another occasion; in the mean time I intend to pursue the argument now entered upon in the following order:—In the present Book of this treatise (the First), I purpose to state the principles of the theory I am opposing, together with something of its history, shewing that, as now propounded, it is irreconcileable with itself in all its main positions, and especially with those checks which it announces as solely regulating the redundant numbers of mankind, each of which will be particularly considered. The Second Book will be exclusively devoted to the consideration of the population of the United States of America and of China; the increase in the former country having been long appealed to as the one triumphant demonstration of the geometric ratio so often advanced. In this section of the work it will be proved, beyond the possibility of contradiction, that the data on which that demonstration is founded are utterly erroneous, both as it regards the number of inhabitants at the period from which it dates its calculations, and the circumstances which have mainly contributed to its rapid increase. Respecting China, the empire in which, as we have

been long instructed to believe, the principle of population has finally produced those evils which are asserted to be its inevitable consequence, the fallacies put forth as to the number of its inhabitants and their condition will be fully exposed, and the deductions of the anti-populationists consequently overturned. In the Third Book, the numerous and fundamental errors in those calculations on which the system has chiefly relied will be clearly exhibited, when a series of mistakes will be exposed, which, it is believed, have been but rarely paralleled, at least in works professedly scientific, and which, I cannot but think, must, of themselves, be fatal to the entire theory. The succeeding Book will be devoted to the development and demonstration of an essentially different, and, I trust, true principle of Population, established by references to every national register of human existence which has hitherto been published in any part of the world, and one, moreover, in perfect unison with the nature, interests, and duties of mankind, under all possible circumstances of society; to which will be added, a dissertation on the balance of food and numbers throughout animated nature, which will still further illustrate and extend the principle of reproduction in human beings, as enunciated and proved throughout the treatise. The Fifth Book will comprise an examination of different countries of the world, in reference to the principles at issue; in which it will be shewn, contrary to the position maintained in the prevailing theory, that as the population of each has increased, the general prosperity has been still more advanced, and that a corresponding improvement has taken place in regard to the moral and intellectual character of the species. It will be also shewn, that

no country upon earth contains at present anything approaching to the number of inhabitants for which nature has evidently contemplated to provide. The Sixth and last Book will consist chiefly of deductions from the law of population thus established, touching the interests, rights, and duties of mankind; wherein will be discussed several important principles of political philosophy, in reference, especially, to our own country. In conclusion, a view will be taken of the future progress and improvement of society, as suggested by the preceding principles, and which reason and religion equally warrant us in anticipating. Such are the principal heads of the argument on which I now proceed to enter.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE THEORY OF HUMAN SUPERFECUNDITY. THE PRINCIPLE STATED, AND ITS CLAIMS TO ORIGINALITY REFUTED.

(1) "THE necessity of setting down, in the very be-"ginning, the definitions of our words and terms[1]," especially in an inquiry like the present, induces me, in the first place, to explain the principle I am about to controvert, and this I shall do in the constantly repeated, and sufficiently significant, language of its principal advocate—it is that of a natural "tendency," and "constant effort in population to increase beyond the means of subsistence[2]:" which I shall generally express throughout by an expressive term, not in general use, though not of my creation[3],—superfecundity.

(2) In proceeding to disprove that there is any such principle in nature as this superfecundity, in reference to the means of subsistence, I must premise that the argument has nothing whatsoever to do with such acts or institutions as have at any time spread misery amongst mankind: if these were to be recognized as the laws of nature, then indeed it would be no difficult task to shew that human beings have been, alas, redundant in every age and country of the world. It is obvious, however, that these inflictions have no more to do with the principle of population than, for instance, the first murder, or the miseries of the siege of Jerusalem. But it is unnecessary to dwell

[1] Bacon's Works, vol. ii. p. 144.
[2] Malthus, pp. 3, 12, &c.
[3] See Paley's Natural Theology.

on this point; the author who will be most frequently alluded to, in attempting to prove the evils resulting from that principle, has expressly treated the subject as totally distinct from such considerations[1]; nay, it is not attempted to be denied, that, according to the theory of the anti-populationists, the most perfect institutions would but accelerate that dreadful catastrophe with which it threatens the human race[2], were their excessive numbers not checked, and their natural prolificness restrained.

(3) The proposition is, therefore, totally unembarrassed by extraneous considerations; and, as before stated, it is—that there is a natural "tendency," and constant effort, in population, to increase beyond the means of subsistence[3]; and that this active tendency, therefore, has always produced numbers redundant and excessive in reference to those means; occasioning evils and demanding checks which will be enumerated and examined hereafter.

(4) This principle of population, which is as ancient as the history of human selfishness and ignorance, it is strange to observe, is at present hailed by many as some new and important discovery; whereas its only claims to novelty are those pretended mathematical demonstrations which render it ridiculous, and those deductions which make it disgusting. In past times, the notion was principally advocated by the ignorant, and opposed by the intellectual, part of mankind: now, indeed, we are told, it has changed hands, and is warmly espoused by "the most thinking persons," as they describe each other to be, and rejected only by the most incompetent. The doctrine, however, which is now received as a new light, is

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, Prospects of Mankind, ch. iv. p. 367.

[2] Ibidem, p. 493. Wallace, Various &c. &c.

[3] Malthus, Essay, &c. pp. 3, 12,

nothing more than ancient darkness, a sort of moral penumbra, through which some of the brightest parts of the earth are, it seems, doomed to pass.

(5) Without deducing this principle from the misstated opinions of ancient Greece and Rome, or the notions of the northern barbarians, the savages of this or the surrounding countries, when the scattered population did not suffice to occupy any of the regions they possessed, nor even to reclaim them from a wilderness state, all which will be adverted to elsewhere; but to come down to more recent times—there have always been those who have begrudged their fellow beings that life which they themselves enjoyed; and the nature of their apology has been uniform, however expressed;—it has been that of the principle of superfecundity, and the consequent necessity of checking human increase.

(6) It is a singular fact, however, and one which seems fatal to such an opinion at the very outset, that as it respects any particular country, the apprehensions it inspires have always been strongest when the inhabitants have been, comparatively speaking, few; and, on the very same ground, those fears, which are now but too prevalent in almost every part of the world, are found to be the most deep, and to lead to the most fatal and disgusting consequences where the population is the thinnest. The features of this "principle," and its "evils," always appear the largest, and are seen the most distinctly, through the vacuum of comparative desolation.

(7) In proof of this, as it respects our own country, I shall hereafter advert to the earlier periods of its history, not commencing, at present, before the reign of the last Henry. In that "intellectual period," when the country was not half cultivated, nor the in-

habitants a third of the number now existing, the evils of population were as distinctly seen, and as feelingly deplored, as at this moment. A descendant of Sir Thomas More, writing the life of that statesman, thus expresses himself, in proof of his superior intelligence: "That the land would be peopled to the devouring "one another," he writeth particularly more like one "that had seen what has already ensued, than one who "spoke of things to come[1]." The redundancy of human beings must have been a theme of grievous complaint with many before Hollingshed's days, to have so frequently attracted the notice of that honest old chronicler; and, it is curious to remark, that the modern assailants of human increase have but picked up, and aimed afresh, the arrows of their spent quiver. There were then, it appears, found men "affirming that we had already too great store of "people in England; and that youth, by marrying "too soone, doo nothing profit the countrie, but fill "it full of beggars, to the hurt and utter undoing "(they saie) of the commonwealth[2]." Again, in another place, he says, "Certes, in some men's judg- "ment, these things are but trifles, and not worth "regarding. Some also do grudge at the great in- "crease of people in these daies, thinking a necessary "brood of cattell farre better than a superfluous aug- "mentation of mankind." In a word, it would be difficult, I think, to prove that the argument was better understood, or more clearly stated, or the evils of a redundant population more feelingly deplored, by any anti-populationist of the present day, than at this early period. It has, however, always been their fate to meet with a similar reception; their endeavours

[1] Cresacre, Life of Sir Thomas More, p. 110.

[2] Hollingshed, vol. i., p. 344.

have been invariably withstood, and themselves treated with disdain. Thus the old historian, just quoted, adds, with honest indignation, "But I can liken such men best of all unto the Pope and the Diuell!"

(8) The accurate historian needs not to be reminded that the same pernicious views had, as at present, long infected a part of the legislature of the country, and one of the noblest efforts of Bacon was that which exposed the folly, and thwarted the aims, of such as espoused them[2]. But the efforts of Bacon were soon forgotten, and even his recorded opinions disregarded; in vain was it that he asserted "that the body of the kingdom was but thinly sown with people[3];" and pointed to "the manifest badges and tokens of their scantiness," as "plain demonstrations thereof," and even met the anticipations of the anti-populationists of his day; proving, by reasons which exist at this moment in full force, that England "need fear no surcharge of people[4]." Still the feelings of ignorant selfishness were suffered to prevail against the reasonings of the patriot philosopher; and in the reign of James laws were made, and instructions given, the avowed object of which was to repress human increase by means of what is now dignified with the appellation of the preventive check[5]. Some particulars of these proceedings are thus preserved in a scarce work by a nearly contemporary author: "They who could not "maintain a wife might not marry, for a licence they "could not have, the bishops taking care enough "with their officers that the poor might not have law-"ful favour of a licence, lest their hospitality might "be charged or impaired by their maintenance; and

[1] Hollingshed, vol. i., p. 308.

[2] See "Mr. Francis Bacon's speech in favour of an increase of people." — D'Ewes, p. 552.

[3] Bacon's Works, vol. iii., p. 294.

[4] Bacon's Works, vol. iii., pp. 295, 296.

[5] Barrington, Ancient Statutes, p. 395.

"their publicly denouncing the banns of marriage the "first time; the parish, for the like reason, hindered "it the second, if any cause were; and usually none "were permitted marriage till the man were thirty-five "at least, and the woman thirty[1]." These regulations, however, it appears could not possibly be continued; (if they had, how would England now have stood?) for this writer grievously laments the "most "imprudent laxation of laws in the justiciaries of the "nation, so that since," says he, "they have coupled "at fourteen, fifteen, sixteen, seventeen, eighteen, a "great age; this hath bred multitudes of poore; weak "and tender poore[2];" elsewhere he says, "this nation "hath lost its politicke rule; it is overspread with "multitudes of men," (just so said Cæsar nearly sixteen hundred years before,[3]) "nay, multitudes of "poor[4]." (Could Mr. Townsend say more now?) I shall advert to this obsolete author again, in shewing that the prevailing system of population has not the least claim to originality, when it will be seen that, if there be any merit in the discovery, it is due to him, fanatic as he was, being one of those "thinking men" who not only saw the principle clearly, but enunciated every single check that has been brought forward in its behalf, even that of moral restraint, which its reputed author was some considerable time in discovering, or rather "supposing[5]," and which is now put forth as the redeeming feature of the whole system.

(9) I might multiply proofs almost without number of the prevalence, at that period, of the principle

[1] English Law, or a Summary Survey, &c. by Ch. Geo. Cock, folio, p. 50.
[2] Cock, Essay on Christian Government, p. 50.
[3] Hominum est infinita multitudo.—Cæsar's Comm., l. v., c. 10.
[4] Cock, Essay on Christian Government, p. 148.
[5] Malthus, Preface, p. vii.

of population I am opposing; and I must add, that it would argue the utmost degree of ignorance, not to allow that that principle was founded upon precisely the same reasonings, and justified by exactly the same facts as at present. I chuse to shew this, in the next place, from those who opposed it, for the sake of exhibiting the tone of feeling and good sense then entertained by many on the subject. "The many "peaceful years of our dread Cæsar's protection," says one of these, "begetting such multitudes of souls in "the tribes of our Israel, as former ages never saw, "it now behoveth us that our increased charge be not "unprovided for, nor by neglect the family famished[1]." "How fearful and desperate is your want of bread", he says elsewhere, "upon the least defect of a full "harvest." He does not, however, propose "that "our unemployed poore, wherein this land so infinitely "aboundeth[3]," "should want their bread, nor our "state be advised to stop the fountain of their flowing "issue[4]," but propounds those remedies, the partial adoption of which, has fully answered as far as they have been tried; and which, notwithstanding their present unpopularity, will continue to succeed wherever they are resorted to, even to the end of time. I shall conclude my extracts from this author with a proof that the "evil" was even at that time supposed to be of so pressing a nature, that one of the principal expedients now suggested was then fully acted upon. "For albeit God hath commanded "man to increase and multiply, and to fill the "earth, ordaining matrimony free and lawful to all; "we (supposing he has not given enough to feed us),

[1] Adam Moore, Bread for the Poore, p. 3.
[2] Ibid., p. 4.
[3] Ibid., p. 30.
[4] Ibid., p. 39.

"though not by our command verbally, yet by our act "really, stop that issue of his blessing, by prevent-"ing the poor of needful habitations, whereby, indeed, "their increase is much hindered[1]." This prime expedient of destroying the habitations of the poor had, indeed, long before that period, been resorted to; it is now revived in our own day[2]; but, by whomsoever proposed or practised, and under what apologies or pretences soever, a more cold-blooded act of cruelty and oppression it is impossible to perpetrate; one deliberate deed of this nature is sufficient to make a human monster, a multitude of such,—a political economist! But I shall return to this subject again, and the constant repetition of such doctrines and such deeds must apologise for that tautology of indignation which they excite. In the mean time, without further detaining the reader in shewing that the same fears of an overwhelming population producing the same effects, prevailed in other countries as well as in England[3], all of which it is now plainly seen were not half peopled, and that these fears, and the measures they dictated, gradually subsided as population continued to advance in each,—facts that may perhaps be again touched upon in another branch of the argument. I shall conclude these quotations on the subject with one from a benevolent writer in the close of the last century but one, Bellars: "Is it not strange to consider," he exclaims, "how industrious the world is to raise corn "and cattle, which only serves men, and how negli-"gent, or rather careful, to hinder the increase of "men, who are a thousand times better (than beasts),

[1] Adam Moore, Bread for the Poore, p. 31.

[2] Third Report on Emigration. See the Rev. Mr. Malthus's Evidence, from pp. 311 to 327.

[3] Scotland—"that none be allowed to "marry who has not 40*l.* Scots of free "gear to set up house upon, or some law-"ful trade whereby to subsist."—Local Acts. Edmonston's Zetland, vol. ii., p. 151. France. Hume, vol. vi., p. 205. See Malte-Brun, Géog., l. xcv., p. 86.

"being to serve God! Do not men greatly reproach "their Maker, as if he had chosen the uselessest part "of creation to serve him, whilst men think them the "least worth their while to raise!"

(10) That this "superfluous augmentation of mankind," therefore, was most felt and complained of, when men were the fewest, admits of no doubt; let us next inquire, where it is that the pressure of population is most dreaded at present?—precisely in those countries where a vast accession of inhabitants would be the greatest possible blessing. The aboriginal American, with less than a square mile of the foodful earth to his individual share, exclaims, we are told, "It is time for our young men to go to war, or we shall starve[2]." Wandering through a luxuriant desert capable of producing every thing for the solace and sustentation of millions, the Indian becomes an infanticide and a parricide, in order to keep down population to the supposed level of the means of subsistence[3]; and the South-Sea Islander, amidst a still greater profusion furnished him by both elements, adds—and, if you believe him, from the same necessity—cannibalism to infanticide[4]; to say nothing of his betters, who check population in a more fashionable manner[5]. The people of Asia, at least in those countries that are the thinnest of inhabitants, reason like the European philosophers, but, if we are to credit some accounts, still act the savage in reference to this subject: "they will "talk of the greatest scourges to which the human "race is subject,—famine, pestilence, war, as catas-"trophes almost to be wished for, considering the

[1] Bellars, Proposals for raising a College of Industry, p. 2.

[2] Bristed, America and her Resources, p. 22.

[3] Humboldt, Personal Narrative, vol. v., pp. 29, 30.

[4] Ellis, Narrative of a Tour through Hawaii, p. 326.

[5] Cook's First Voyage, vol. ii., p. 207, *et seq.* Ellis, p. 326.

"survivors as benefited by the destruction of so many "of their fellow-creatures[1]." And, lastly, in China, —yes, in China, which, notwithstanding the "Edi- "fying Letters" of the Jesuits, is, to the confusion of the argument I am opposing, now ascertained to be, in reference to its soil and climate, one of the worst peopled countries in the East, if not in the whole world,—Dr. Ellis tells us he was surprised to hear the doctrine of Malthus broached on the "Imperial Canal;" namely, that "wars were absolutely neces- "sary to maintain the proportion between the supply "and the consumers[2]." It is somewhat singular, that in a country so miserably peopled as China, in pro portion to its fertility and extent, the military mandarin, who held this language, did not think of beating his sword into a ploughshare in order to raise the "level of the food" to that of the population, instead of hewing down the population to the level of the food; but that would neither have comported with his principles on population, nor with his profession. The good old woman, whom Mr. Malthus speaks of meeting at the Lac de Joux[3], equally alive to the true principle of population, chimes in with the doctrine of the professor of Hertford College, but is inclined to rectify the disproportion between life and food by a gentler expedient than war; which, however, the latter assures us, was originated by the principle of population[4]; and the peasant who conducted him to the source of the Orbe, it appears, "understood the "principle of population almost as well as any man "he ever met with," and his views upon the subject are explained somewhat at large[5]. It does not, how-

[1] Finlayson, Mission to Siam and Huë, p. 65.
[2] Ellis, Journal of the Proceedings of the late Embassy to China, p. 275.
[3] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 281.
[4] Ibid., p. 65.
[5] Ibid., p. 281.

ever, appear, that any of the interlocutors in that, or other similar dialogues which have been given us with much simplicity, were themselves the practical converts of their own opinions; and this forms a singular feature in the modern principle of population. All its advocates are fully aware of the evil, but few, if any of them, are willing to assist, personally, in removing it. They agree to lay that task exclusively upon friendless poverty, the very condition, above all others, in which it is the most insupportable[1]. But to return.

(11) In applying some of the preceding observations to Europe, their appositeness, I think, will be fully apparent; and it is worthy of remark, that the Rev. Mr. Townsend—who was one of the earliest writers that, at considerable length, propounded and illustrated the system under examination—himself seems to have imbibed it in one of the very worst inhabited countries of Europe, Spain, whose thin and declining population had long been acknowledged as one of its greatest evils; and it is but fair to state, that, whatever merit or otherwise there may have been in reviving that system, (for neither did he discover it,) is undoubtedly due to him, and not to Mr. Malthus. Thus, does he lay it down as a maxim, that "the human race every where makes strong efforts to increase[2]." Mr. Malthus, in like manner, speaks of its "constant effort to increase[3]." The former says, their numbers will go on increasing, and be limited only by their food[4]; the latter reasserts the idea in the very words[5]. The means by which population is kept down to the level of food are enumerated, and

[1] Reports of the Society for Bettering the Condition of the Poor, vol. iii., p. 325.

[2] Townsend, Journey through Spain, vol. i., p. 382.

[3] Malthus, p. 12.

[4] Townsend, vol. i., p. 383.

[5] Malthus, p. 16.

are precisely of the same nature in both, and clearly resolvable into vice, misery, or, as it is called, moral restraint. The principal proofs by which the Reverend Travellers demonstrate their point, are identical. Does Mr. Townsend bring forward China as an example of a country "where population is advanced to the utmost ability of the soil to nourish," and in which infanticide is resorted to in order to keep down the numbers[2]? So does Mr. Malthus[3]. On the other hand, Mr. Townsend proves his principle of increase, by shewing it, as he supposes, in full operation in North America[4]; so, therefore, does Mr. Malthus[5].

(12) And not only does the former writer assert the superfecundity of human beings, in reference to their food, but he informs us that their numbers would, if unrestrained, go on doubling at regular intervals, *ad infinitum*[6]. Mr. Malthus assures us just the same thing, in very similar language; and says, "a thou-"sand millions are just as easily doubled every twenty-"five years, by the power of population, as a thou-"sand[7];" this, however, is the very point that ought to have been proved by both, rather than simply asserted and re-asserted throughout; but that task has been attempted by neither. It is what is not believed, and will be, I trust, fully disproved in this work. The only attempt to substantiate it, is that first made by Mr. Townsend, who says, "the population in "North America doubles every twenty-five years, "but in some provinces in fifteen years[8]." Transferring this ratio of increase, which he takes to be true, to the old world, he says; the reason it does not

[1] Townsend, vol. ii., pp. 362—365.
[2] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 362.
[3] Malthus, p. 145, &c.
[4] Townsend, vol. ii., p. 362.
[5] Malthus, p. 4, &c.
[6] Townsend, vol. ii., p. 383.
[7] Malthus, p. 5.
[8] Townsend, vol. ii., p. 362.

take place here is "obvious"—"want of food[1]." This demonstration, if it must be so denominated, is made not an atom stronger by the verbal repetitions of Mr. Malthus; who tells us, in like manner, that, "in the "northern states of America, the population has been "found to double itself in twenty-five years[2]; in the "back settlements, in fifteen years[3]." "Why," the latter asks, "does not an equal number produce an equal "increase, in the same time, in Great Britain?" He answers, in the words of the former,—"the obvious "reason to be assigned, is want of food[4]." It will be seen hereafter, that the "obvious reason" of both these authors is not the true one—no uncommon case.

(13) Thus, not only the principle of population, to use Mr. Townsend's phrase, which Mr. Malthus has likewise adopted, but the proofs by which it professes to be demonstrated, the nature of the checks which restrain its increase, and even the precise periods of its natural duplication, are repeated by the latter, with something more like the servility of the copyist, than the accidental coincidence of an original writer.

(14) The deductions likewise from this repulsive principle, the only considerations which could have induced me to engage in examining its truth, whoever were its authors, are in both writers precisely the same. Without noticing that they ground arguments against the system of equality on this theory, (which, were it true, it is however quite obvious would form one of the strongest arguments in its favour,) I shall merely observe, that Mr. Townsend's views on the subject betrayed him into that inveterate hostility to our great national charity, the poor laws, for which he was early distinguished. He even went so far as to stigmatise a

[1] Townsend, vol. ii., p. 362.
[2] Ibid., p. 4, 339.
[3] Malthus, p. 339. 4.
[4] Ibid., p. 340.

system, which was first established[1], and has been since supported and eulogised by the wisest and best men this country has ever produced, as "absurd[2]." Mr. Malthus, regarding them, still adopts his words, as well as his notions, and calls them "absurd[3]." The former frequently refers to his "Dissertation" upon the Poor Laws, in which he says, he has discussed the principle of population more at length. I have not been able to obtain a sight of that book, otherwise I have little doubt but the sameness of Mr. Malthus's deductions might be still more distinctly marked; enough, however, has been said to shew, that whatever be the merits of what is now called the Malthusian theory, the author whose name it bears has but a very slender title to them.

(15) The motive that has induced me to make these remarks is perfectly distinct from any anxiety to adjust the claims of authorship to such a system, much less envy of any writer who may, however improperly, succeed to the honours of it; it will be stated before I conclude this chapter: and it is of sufficient weight to determine me still further to trespass on the reader's attention, in shewing that the theory existed, substantially, long before Mr. Townsend himself, though he unquestionably reduced it into shape, and ought to have given to it his name. Amongst the few authors I shall bring forward in proof of this, I shall first mention Wallace, who wrote on the subject long previously to Mr. Townsend, and who, I cannot but think, has explained what is now called the "principle of population," in a much more clear and forcible manner than any of his successors. He announces, as amongst certain primary determinations in nature, "A limited

[1] The Poor Laws of England were drawn by Francis Bacon.

[2] Townsend, vol. ii., p. 364.

[3] Malthus, p. 413.

"earth, a limited degree of fertility, and the constant "increase of mankind[1]," which increase must be checked by causes which he enumerates, and which class themselves under the heads of vice, misery, or moral restraint. His deductions, in reference to political institutions, are forcibly expressed, and, admitting the truth of his premises, are undeniably correct, and they coincide precisely with what Mr. Malthus has given in not very dissimilar language; only that the former has saved his system from the absurdity of asserting that its evils are "immediate" and "always pressing" at all periods, even while the earth is in great measure uncultivated, and men have arms to till it, and there are institutions to encourage their labour, and protect them in the rightful possession of its products. He comes, however, at last to the same conclusion, which is common to all who hold the superfecundity of the human race, and one of so dark and pernicious a character that it is strange it did not cause him to suspect the truth of his premises, and retrace every distinct step he had taken in the argument. His benevolence plainly struggled against it, and had Truth lent her helping hand, he would have been delivered from the theory altogether, the inevitable consequences of which, however postponed or concealed, are what he has felt compelled to announce as undeniable, namely, that "the more excellent the laws, and the more strictly "they are obeyed, mankind must the sooner become "miserable[2]." An axiom this, perfectly accordant with the entire theory, and indeed inseparable from it, but most certainly worthy, both in reference to its nature and its effects, of the great Enemy of mankind himself.

[1] Wallace, Various Prospects of Mankind, Nature and Providence, iv. 112.

[2] Ibid., p. 111.

(16) Nor has this unhappy view of the principle of population been confined to this country. I have now before me a little work, professing to be translated from the French, and published a little later than the middle of the last century, in which it is expressed with the utmost perspicuity, and reconciled by the same expedients to the existing state of things, and even to Providence itself, (such is the marvel,) as in the "Essay on Population." I shall not weary, I trust I might say disgust, the reader, by quoting the principle laid down by this author, which would be merely a repetition of what has been already given so frequently; nor shall I fatigue him with its proofs, which are as strikingly coincident; but shall merely shew, that in the enunciation of the checks, which are supposed to keep down the population to the level of food, and which are regarded as the main and essential part of the modern system, Mr. Malthus, and even Mr. Townsend, are completely forestalled. When the former of these, therefore, is enumerating "the obstacles to the increase of population[1]," do I err in conceiving that I read the very language of the anonymous writer when treating "of the obstacles which oppose the undue increase of population[2]?" These, Mr. Malthus informs us, may be thus enumerated,—"all unwholesome occupations, severe labour and exposure to the seasons, extreme poverty, great towns, excesses of all kinds, the whole train of common diseases and epidemics, wars, pestilence, plague, and famine[3];" which, with something about bad nursing, make up the whole list. The anonymous author says, that amongst his checks "may be considered, laborious, pernicious, and dangerous em-

[1] Malthus, p. 11.
[2] Philosophical Survey of the Animal Creation, pp. 105, 110.
[3] Malthus, p. 11.

"ployments; inclemency of the seasons; scarcity of "provision; large cities; luxury; effeminacy, sensu- "ality, and debauchery; disease and infirmities; "wars, pestilence, and famine[1]." The article concerning nursing, therefore, is the sole novelty in the modern catalogue. I shall not pause to trace further coincidences, they are numerous and striking; if any should wish to estimate more particularly the claims of the present system of population to originality, I would send them to the work itself; in a leaf of which it appears the late Dr. Parr wrote, "This book "contains the seminal principle of many passages in "Malthus's Essay[2]." He will there perceive, I think, not only that the "seminal principle," but the blossom and fruit of the whole theory are there; saving its present deadly hostility to the poor laws. But, as though so pernicious a system were always to be accompanied by some inhuman deduction, there is a long note, written expressly against loving our enemies[3]. So true is the sacred maxim concerning principles, as well as men,—"by their fruits ye shall know them!"

(17) So much then for the novelty of the system. And regarding its checks, that now called moral restraint, which has been but slightly alluded to, the least information upon the question will suffice to convince us that it is one of those preventives which has never been lost sight of by those who hold the natural superfecundity of the species. Most of the old women in England, as well as she of the Lac de Joux, have remained fully alive to it, long after they have been dead to almost every other subject. But in order

[1] Philosophical Survey, &c., pp. 105-123.

[2] Literary Gazette, Aug. 1827.

[3] Philosophical Dissertation, &c. p. 109.

to shew that it has been warmly proposed in this country ages ago, and with a fairness in regard to its application, now wholly lost sight of, and which entitles the fanatic author so far to our respect, I shall again quote Cock; and I do so for a still higher purpose than that of prolonging this part of the inquiry; and if the facts disclosed meet the eye of any who have influence in the kingdom, may they sink into their hearts! They prove not only that the pressure of population was felt more heavily when the inhabitants of the country were comparatively few, and had recently been thinned by the consequences of the grand rebellion, which Sir William Petty computes had swept off a fortieth part of the whole people[1]; but that emigration (a mania for which has been recently attempted to be revived) was even then strongly recommended as a necessary remedy for the sufferings and surcharge in the numbers of the people. "The nation," says this writer, "hath lost its politick "rule," alluding to the restraint upon marriage having been removed, "and is overspread with multitudes of "men, nay multitudes of poor, so that to take care for "the education of all these, you say, is wholly impracticable. To this I say, that no nation, if not plagued "with war or diseases, but naturally it will grow "over numerous. Now the magistrate supreme "ought truly to know the contents of his territory, "and be able to lay out the possible subsistence of "his subjects; as the wise grazier, to know how many "beasts will be depastured in such a ground, or how "much seed will sow an acre. These are the mysteries of wise regiments, which few princes or magistrates, now-a-days, if at any time, will study, but

[1] Political Arithmetic, Tracts, p. 106.

"it is their duty: but from not well considering these "things, nations which might in ordinary course live "quiet, being grown over populous, whereby the due "care of inferior magistrates is obstructed, they grow "loose and lazy, then swarve into crimes, then com- "plain of neglect of duty of magistrates, which is "evident; then interest gains head, these make par- "ties, and then the state is utterly embroiled or "altered. Therefore, if the princes will, in the use "of the wisdom God hath given them to rule by, rule "well and safely, they must, once every seven years, "number their people; if the accidents (I must so "call them) of plague, war, famine, &c. have not "done it; and either by opening a fit way, publickly "known, of easing their country's burthen, by settling "them in another county; or if all counties are full, "by transporting them into another country, avoid "this danger." The former alternative, however, is now conceived to be unworthy attention by the political economists of the present day: nor were these the only expedients to avoid the recurrence of the evil, in the discovery of which he was as clear-sighted as any of them; he therefore thus expresses himself. "Now the Christian magistrate, therefore, upon the "whole, may and ought to bridle this beast in man," (alluding to the natural passion between the sexes,) "by a discreet moderate law, to restrain the lusts of "proud, rich, lazy, idle, and so lustful young ones; "and take off the itch of mean ones by work and "labour of body, with slender diet; and holy exer- "cises, divine and spiritual breathings after God in "the sense of our own weakness, will as well restrain "exorbitant affections in Christians, as the love of "philosophy or the fear of the gods, so called, could "heathens: let us not therefore eat to lust, and live

"in idleness, and then we must marry or we burn[1]." Such are the opinions this author published in the middle of the seventeenth century[2]; and it is therefore perfectly clear, that the old fanatic understood what our modern philosophers call "the true principle of population" as clearly as the best of them, anticipating all their remedies for the evils it is supposed to occasion, which it fully appears were felt far more severely then than at present; but with a fairness, of which not an individual amongst them has shewn himself capable of imitating, proposing to administer those remedies, as it respected the rich as well as the poor, impartially and universally.

(18) Respecting the terms now made use of in the system under consideration, which, as applied to this theory, have acquired a most unnatural importance, they have as little claim to originality as the things they are meant to express. The idea of mankind multiplying in a "geometric ratio," that is, doubling their numbers in regularly recurring intervals of equal duration, is sufficiently old, so is the expression itself[3]. But the geometrical progression of human increase has been generally applied to the antediluvian period of human history, or to that immediately succeeding the flood[4], when human life was tenfold its present duration. This longevity was always attended to in these calculations; and its diminution, after having accomplished a manifest purpose of the Deity, was taken into account as occasioning the gradual extension of the term of human duplication[5]: considerations which must not even be recollected in the

[1] Cock, Essay on Christian Government, pp. 126, 148, 151, 152.
[2] A.D. 1651.
[3] Sir Matthew Hale, Primitive Origination of Mankind, p. 205.
[4] Burn, History of the Poor Laws, p. 153.
[5] Sir William Petty, Tracts, pp. 108, 120.

modern system of population. As to the "arithmetical ratio," as far as it means to imply, that food naturally increases slower than the multiplication of human life, if the term has not been used, which I think it has, at all events the idea is as ancient as the former one, as has been sufficiently shewn already. Nor has the circumstance of the two ratios being brought together, most unfortunately, as I think, for the argument, been without an example[1]. But as I suspect, it is upon these ratios that the supposed demonstration of that theory is built, which Mr. Malthus says is established in his first five pages, I shall further consider them separately, and then in connexion with each other; when I think it will be seen the whole rests on a very insecure foundation.

(19) I have, in the meantime, adduced these proofs, that the principle shortly explained in this chapter, has no claims to originality, from, I repeat, a very different motive to that of settling a dispute about authorship. One of the principal excellencies in a justly celebrated work, in answer to the infidel publication of Mr. Paine, consisted in shewing that writer, that his confident hopes of subverting the Christian religion, by having advanced something, as he supposed, essentially new on the occasion, were utterly fallacious, and that the sacred truths he opposed, had, through a succession of ages, sustained precisely similar attacks uninjured[2]. In like manner the laws of Providence, in regard to human increase, have, long before our days, been impugned on the same grounds, by the same arguments and in the same terms, as those we are about to consider, but without any permanent

[1] Philip Cantillon, Essay on Food and Population, &c. pp. 119, 120.

[2] Bp. Watson, Apology for the Bible, *passim*.

effect. Those laws have still continued to be regarded as the source of human prosperity and happiness, and perfectly adapted to the measure of that increase in human sustentation, to which they have a visible and special reference.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE THEORY OF HUMAN SUPERFECUNDITY; ITS GEOMETRIC RATIO CONSIDERED.

(1) THE principle of population about to be examined has already been shortly explained. In proceeding, however, to consider the mode and measure in which it is said to operate, all which its advocates profess to understand clearly, and to calculate with the greatest certainty and precision, it may be needful to restate the theory and in their own terms, as the reader, in respect to his outraged feelings, will doubtless have attempted to dismiss it from his recollection.

(2) The principle is simply explained, as "a constant tendency in all animated life, to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it[1]:" a proposition sufficiently astounding in itself, and still more so in its inevitable consequences; consequences which have been by no means overlooked. On the contrary, they have been calmly contemplated and attributed to Nature, (whose laws are elsewhere declared to be those of GOD;) that Nature, which, it is said, "has scattered the seeds of life abroad, with the most profuse and liberal hand, but has been comparatively sparing in the room and the nourishment necessary to rear them[2]." Her sentient offspring she has "impelled by a powerful instinct to increase their species[3]," and the "superabundant effects" of her own laws "are repressed afterwards," by "want of room and nourishment[4]," and "amongst animals,

[1] Malthus, pp. 2, 540. [2] Ibid., p. 2. [3] Malthus, p. 2. [4] Ibid., p. 3.

"by their becoming the prey of each other[1]." Man, however, is in the most melancholy predicament. Reason, it appears, "interrupts his career," dissuading him from obeying the strongest law of nature: if he attend to its monition, his obedience too frequently produces "vice[2]," if he do not, the inevitable consequence that awaits him, is "misery," which "will be severely felt by a large portion of mankind[3];" especially by the most destitute, from whom this theory proposes, that all public assistance, founded on long established rights[4], should be entirely withdrawn. A large proportion of mankind must, therefore, be kept down in numbers, by checks as they are called, or rather scorpion scourges, composed of destructive vices and sufferings, which the system places in the hand of nature for that purpose: the domestic virtues and charities, at least when found in a condition of life unhappily too prevalent, are to be lashed and branded[5], while impurity and vice, meantime, stalk abroad unpunished. These are the principal means by which the numbers, which the fiat of the Creator calls into being, must be kept down to the level of that inadequate sustentation which he has provided for them.

(3) The proportion in which it is asserted, in this theory, that human beings would increase, is denominated the "geometric ratio," and it is announced, and assumed to be demonstrated, in these terms:—"The "human species would increase" (if unchecked) "as "the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256; and "subsistence as, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two cen- "turies the population would be to the means of ex-

[1] Malthus, p. 3. [2] Ibid., p. 3. [3] Ibid., p. 3. [4] Paley. [5] "Clearly immoral," under the circumstances of poverty mentioned—"to the punishment, therefore, of nature he should be left."—Malthus, pp. 539, 540.

"istence as 256 to 9; in three centuries, as 4096 to "13; and in two thousand years the difference would "be almost incalculable!"[1]

(4) This boasted scheme is, when examined, of a most singular character, and, as will be seen hereafter, might be so made use of, as to prove a diametrically opposite principle to that which it is brought forwards to express. But to consider what it means rather than what it shews, viz. that mankind would, unrestrained, double their numbers every twenty-five years, while their food could not be made to increase in an equal time, in any thing approaching to that ratio. All the consequences predicated must, therefore, inevitably ensue, consequences which it is the purpose of the calculation to shew, could neither be mitigated nor delayed. The system pushes man at once to the verge of that gulf of universal suffering, which it declares the conflicting laws of nature have prepared for him, and only saves him from the final plunge by vice and misery; or, by that which, notwithstanding the sophistry with which it is recommended, *is in effect* a disgusting compound of both;—the "preventive check."—A theory, this, which cannot be that of God and Nature; and which, in their name, I shall attempt to disprove.

(5) First, then, as it respects the geometric ratio of human increase. But, before I address a few observations to this point, I will refer the reader, at this early stage of the argument, to the Second Book of this treatise, in which he will find the sole demonstration of the theory of human duplication at regularly recurring periods, founded on the supposed progress of American population, entirely disproved, not only by reasonings which I think it will be hard to invalidate, but by facts

[1] Malthus, p. 8.

which I am certain it will be impossible to controvert. American statistics, so far from substantiating the geometric ratio, disprove it altogether; and the reader must be well aware, if he be at all conversant with the question, that there is no other, even suppositious, proof of it in existence. The few words, therefore, that I shall spend upon this part of the subject (and many would be superfluous) will treat the geometric ratio as what it is,—a mere unsubstantiated hypothesis.

(6) Without dwelling, for the present, therefore, upon the varying ratios of mortality, plainly accommodated to the state of the population in every part of the world, and even recognized by the supporters of the theory in question; without adverting to those mutations in "nature's two boundaries, corruption and generation[1]," to use Lord Bacon's language, which, it will be shewn hereafter, constantly accommodate themselves to the varying exigencies of human beings, independently of the intervention of the inhuman and immoral checks already enumerated; it may be at once denied that human increase proceeds geometrically, and for this simple but decisive reason, that the existence of a geometrical ratio of increase in the works of nature is neither true nor possible. It would fling into utter confusion all order, time, magnitude, and space. This increase can only exist as an abstract idea. Its abettors may be challenged to produce it as a permanently practical truth. This they cannot do, and hence the difference between our respective principles is this, and it is immeasurable; that whereas their ideal ratio of human increase is only reconcileable to truth and experience by the constant operation of a set of cruel and disgusting checks; the true principle of population is, without such interference, so regu-

[1] Lord Bacon, Works, vol. i., p. 364.

lated by the Author of nature as to be productive of the greatest possible degree of human happiness.

(7) In further consideration of this geometric ratio, I observe that Mr. Malthus, in the chapter in which it is propounded, has exemplified his meaning, if not, as he supposes, demonstrated its truth, by appeals to the vegetable kingdom. Let us do so likewise; and take from its entire tribes, any of which would equally illustrate the subject, the growth of its monarch, the oak, as an exemplification of the better principle, not as the proof of it; that, as it will be seen hereafter, is founded upon a much surer basis than any mere illustration can supply. From the period when it first bursts its acorn and perforates the soil, till it becomes a vigorous sapling, its growth and enlargement are comparatively rapid; so it continues, while it spreads abroad its branches, rears its lofty head, and rises to maturity. Then is it that its annual increase gradually diminishes, and at length pauses, when it stands hardening its giant limbs in the changeful seasons, alternately putting forth its vernal leaves, and disrobing itself to the roar of the wintry blast, century after century, without adding one cubit to its majestic stature. But neither then, nor at any subsequent period, till it finally bows down its honours to its native soil, does it surcease its growth, nor fall into decay for want of nourishment and room. It sinks from an inevitable law of nature, analogous to that which regulates the increase of animated beings, and which, hitherto, has determined the fate of empires, of which the sacred records justify me in selecting this as an instructive emblem. An ant, meantime, mounted on a mole-hill at its foot, supposing this instructive teacher to be a mathematician, witnessing its early growth, and calculating from thence a geometric ratio, might well augur that it

would ascend to the size of Nebuchadnezzar's tree, shadowing all the beasts of the field, and sheltering the fowls of heaven in its branches, till at length it would darken the skies, and hide that sun which calls forth its busy fraternity to their annual labours. The calculations of this interesting insect would be not less true in the abstract, and not more false in their application, than that of the philosopher, who, with the page of history before him, where is recorded the existence of mighty and populous empires, not a vestige of which now remains, and others by whose ruins he is still surrounded, (not one of which met their fate from a want of food for their boasted numbers,) still raves about the geometric ratio of human increase[1].

(8) Nor has this geometric ratio any existence when applied to the common pursuits of life. One of the authorities quoted in the first chapter of the work under examination, supposes, indeed, upon this principle, the possibility of the indefinite, or rather infinite multiplication of any particular race of men or vegetables, and applied, I think, the notion to other, and, as he thought, more practical as well as profitable purposes,—the increase of money; calculating to a nicety what a farthing put out to interest at our Saviour's birth would have amounted to at his day, had it been properly husbanded. Nor did the idea exist with him in mere theory: he actually left in his last will and testament some, I forget how many, millions sterling to be applied as he directed at a given time after his death[2]. The philosopher was quite as profound when he was penning his codicil as when engaged in proving that the world might be planted

[1] I have observed, since I wrote this passage, that one of the profoundest writers on geography that has ever yet appeared, Malte-Brun, has explained, by the same analogy, the rise, progress, and decay of the ancient races of man. —See Malte-Brun, Geog., l. xcv., p. 72.

[2] Dr. Franklin's Will, Works.

entirely with fennel!—the growth of Jack Hickathrift's bean, or any other nursery story, is as sober a supposition as either.

(9) False, however, and even ridiculous, as is the geometrid ratio when any thing more than a mere abstract idea; and although, were it true, "the great difference in the delivery of the mathematics, which "are the most abstracted of knowledges, and policy, "which is the most immersed[1]," is manifest; still the duty, interest, and policy of the country, it is now proposed, should be dictated by it; and in sober earnest we stand in no little danger, if the principle gain ground, of seeing one of the wildest of Swift's satirical rêveries actually realized amongst us[2]. Under these circumstances, I hope I may hold the humble office of a "flapper" on the occasion, and so far recall these state mathematicians to matter of fact and common sense, as to shew them two practical problems, both of which are undeniably true, and either of them fatal to their theory; they are these:—

First, Human increase, under the most favourable circumstances for its development, does not proceed in a geometrical ratio, but is constantly regulated on a totally different principle.

Second, Supposing such a ratio to exist, (which will be distinctly disproved,) still the longest of the terms upon which its supporters have founded their theory, even taking their own data, involves a series of physical impossibilities.

(10) For a full proof of these important positions, decisive indeed of the entire argument, I must again crave the reader to anticipate subsequent parts of this work. In regard to the first, and in proof that no

[1] Bacon, Advancement of Learning, b. ii., p. 152.

[2] Swift, Voyage to Laputa, Works, vol. xiii., p. 145, *et seq.*

such duplication as the theory I am opposing ever has taken place, I have already referred to the Second Book of this treatise; that it never can, consistently with the established laws of nature, I hope is demonstrated, by every species of evidence of which the subject is susceptible, in the Fourth. In the opening chapters of the intermediate one, the second assertion is most distinctly substantiated, namely, that even the longest term assigned as the natural period of duplication in an unchecked population, is so far from being actually true, that it is not even possible, admitting the most favourable suppositions which have been brought forward in reference to human prolificness and longevity. My reason for postponing these proofs to a further stage of the argument is, that the different branches of it may be kept as distinct as may be, and thereby that tautology somewhat lessened, which it is not easy altogether to avoid in a work of this extended nature, at least with that share of time and attention that I have been able to devote to its composition and arrangement. I am not, however, unaware of the effect of continued repetition. Locke, I think, owed no little of his success in clearing away the metaphysical cobwebs of preceding times to it; and, at all events, the practice has been avowedly resorted to by the author to whom I shall often address myself. In the choice of difficulties, I have, however, preferred separating the argument into two general divisions; the former of which will principally consist of proofs derived from general observation and experience; the latter, of those numerical calculations, by which it is arithmetically demonstrated. In subsequent parts of the work, then, the present subject will be resumed, when it will be fully proved, that the geometric ratio of human increase

has never yet been known to exist; that the periods in which its supporters assert that it doubles human beings, involve impossibilities; and, finally, that no such principle, however modified, constitutes the true law of population.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE THEORY OF HUMAN SUPERFECUNDITY; ITS ARITHMETICAL RATIO.

(1) If the geometric ratio, as applied to the increase of human beings, cannot bear a close investigation, the arithmetical one, as expressing the utmost possible augmentation of their sustenance, cannot sustain a single glance. So far from its being a "self-evident truth," as represented, it is an obvious fallacy, and one of the most glaring description; whether regarded theoretically or practically, whether submitted to the intellect of the philosopher, or the observation of the peasant, the error appears equally striking.

(2) The design of the theory under examination being to represent the utter insufficiency of the sustenance provided for the beings which the unrestrained laws of nature would certainly produce, two different ratios are employed,—the geometric one, exhibiting the multiplication of those beings as proceeding, when unchecked, in an infinite series in which each successive term is double that of its preceding one; and the arithmetical, as shewing the means of subsistence when augmented to the utmost, advancing indeed, but so as to make each successive term exhibit a perpetually lessening proportion to the former. In this arithmetical series, the second term indeed doubles the first, but the third adds only a half to the second; the fourth, one third; the fifth, one fourth; the sixth, one fifth; and so on, till at the end of the few places,

which are given, while the increase of the geometric ratio has advanced to 128, that of the arithmetical still remains only one. When these two ratios are brought together, for which purpose they were calculated, they consequently exhibit a perpetually enlarging disproportion, which speedily becomes all but infinite. But the arithmetic ratio, which is made to express the utmost increase of human food, will, in the first place, be considered separately, and then in its supposed connexion with the geometric one.

(3) In proceeding to examine this supposed ratio of the increase of food, in order to see the subject more clearly, let us, in the first place, consider it as distinct from "room:" and we are perfectly warranted in so doing, not only because the corresponding ratio has been so considered, but because Mr. Malthus himself has done so in laying down his own principle; and that not inadvertently, but designedly and formally, making it the distinctive feature of his system compared with that of Wallace and others[1]. The difference of these ratios he asserts in the very first page of his work, to have been "constantly and "powerfully operating since the commencement of so "ciety[2];" and after having dwelt upon the same idea throughout, he repeats, near its close, that it is the present and existing evils deducible from the principle of population, which his system contemplates. Speaking of a remote difficulty, he says, "An event, at such "a distance, might fairly be left to Providence;" (singular language!) "but the truth is," continues he, "that if the view of the argument given in this essay "be just, the difficulty, so far from being remote, "would be imminent and immediate. At any period "during the progress of cultivation, from the present

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 354. [2] Ibid., p. 1.

"moment to the time when the whole earth was "become like a garden, the distress, for want of food, "would be constantly pressing on all mankind, if "they were equal. Though the produce of the earth "would be increasing every year, population would be "increasing much faster, and the redundancy must "necessarily be checked by the periodical or constant "action of moral restraint, vice, or misery[1]." Here, then, as clearly as when he speaks of the same principle being in constant and powerful operation from the origination of society, he evidently treats the subject as not referrible to space. I perceive, likewise, by another work of his, a small part only of which I have read, he admits that the earth is capable of sustaining ten-fold its present inhabitants, and that the population of Europe is far from having approached the limits which nature has assigned[2]. Meantime, as he has absolved human institutions from any culpable and prejudicial interference with the question, or declared, at least, that their influence is "light and superficial[3]," we are fully warranted in considering the arithmetical ratio as not being at present bound up by want of room, and nothing more is necessary in order to expose itself and its office to deserved derision.

(4) The purpose of pursuing this inquiry is, however, of a far higher nature than that of answering any particular author, much less exposing to ridicule his peculiar views, and as I am perfectly persuaded, notwithstanding these assurances to the contrary, that, in the very nature of things, it must be the prospective terrors, rather than the "imme-"diate[4]" effects of population, by which most of the converts to this fallacious theory are influenced, be-

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 354.
[2] Ibid., Polit. Econ., p. 348.
[3] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 367.
[4] Ibid., p. 354.

fore I address a few words to the subject of this chapter, I shall dwell a little on the idea of the vast spaces which the earth still presents hitherto either wholly unoccupied, or very partially possessed, by human beings; and this I will do, in the words of Dr. Franklin, whose right sense and feeling in this instance will tend to obliterate the recollection of those occasional weaknesses incident to human nature, from which it has been already seen he was not exempt. "The world is large," says he, "and a great part of "it uncultivated. Many hundred millions of acres "in Asia, Africa, and America, are still in forest; "and a great deal even of Europe. On a hundred "acres of this forest a man might become a substan- "tial farmer, and a hundred thousand men, each "employed in clearing his hundred acres, would "hardly brighten a spot large enough to be visible "from the moon, unless with Herschel's telescope; "so vast are the regions still in wood[1]."

(5) More recent authorities, in possession, it may be presumed, of the most accurate information, not only confirm this view of the subject, but amplify our ideas respecting the abundant room there is, even in Europe, and in England, for an immediate and immense multiplication of the human species[2].

(6) That the increase of the production of the means of sustenance is not, in the second place, thus fatally abridged and brought down to the wretchedness of this arithmetical ratio by human institutions, I need not surely contend; Mr. Malthus himself has, as we have seen, very distinctly asserted to the contrary; and, indeed, to prove the very reverse, was probably the primary motive of his undertaking. These, he says, "are light and superficial" as "causes" of that weight

[1] Franklin, Essays, vol. ii., p. 84. [2] Malte-Brun, Géog., l. xcv., p. 87.

of human misery which continually presses upon mankind, and result, as he declares, from the laws of nature, one of which he conceives to be this arithmetical ratio. It is perfectly plain, therefore, that he treats the arithmetical ratio as a question distinct from human power as well as room. Totally differing with him, as I do, in regard to the main source of human misery, and feeling little disposed to exonerate institutions from their share in the guilt of its frequent infliction, I will, nevertheless, acknowledge that their general effect on the mass of mankind is greatly to increase, rather than diminish, the production of the means of subsistence. But, let it be recollected, that in the particular cases in which it is otherwise, and these institutions intercept, instead of distributing and securing, the bounties of Providence, nature stands fully absolved, and would remain so were such cases universal. It is the scale graduated by Providence, and not by cruelty and oppression, which, I presume, both Mr. Malthus and myself are considering.

(7) In every view of the question, and most of all, in that taken by the author whose principle I am opposing, I am, therefore, fully warranted in treating these ratios as an abstract question; and, so regarded, there probably never was an assertion hazarded upon any subject that has engaged the attention of man from the creation to the present hour, so palpably at variance with truth as that which represents the natural rate of increase in human sustenance to be slower than that of the increase of human beings; to say nothing of the astonishingly great, and continually increasing, disparity contended for by the theory so maintained. It seems absolutely necessary to recall the advocates of such notions to the evidence of their

own senses. Which of those vegetable or animal substances, whose plain destiny it is to administer to the necessities of man, is it that multiples in a slower ratio than himself? Or, rather, which is it, on the contrary, that does not increase much faster? many of them, indeed, at a rate which speedily baffles all the powers of calculation to express. In what situation can the human being be placed, whatever may be his habits, who does not see his food multiplying around him with a rapidity truly astonishing, whether he avail himself of the gifts of nature, or, through ignorance or oppression, expire amidst their profusion? Suppose him placed in the lowest condition of life, and existing as an animal of prey; that prey is almost infinitely more prolific than himself. To take but one example of the fact from each of the elements that furnishes it; a single pair of one of the species of wild edible quadrupeds, a celebrated historian of nature observes, would, in four years, multiply into a million and a half: the increase of a flock of wild pigeons, in the same space of time, would be almost inconceivable. Wilson, the American ornithologist, calculated the numbers of a single flight of them, which he observed, at about two thousand millions; an almost incredible fact, were it not corroborated by similar accounts[1]. In the earlier history of the colonies, they were called the victuallers of the plantations[2], and were well deserving of the name. As to the finny tribes, who has ever compared human prolificness with theirs, or ventured to suppose that the subsistence they might yield to man is exhaustible? Would not these double in twenty-five years? If the experiments of the great Lewen-

[1] Dr. Williams, History of Vermont, p. 114.

[2] Dr. Douglass, Summary Historical, &c. of the British Settlements in North America, vol. ii., p. 218.

hoek were true, and I never heard of their being doubted, Bradley has shewn, that, according to a very moderate calculation, a single cod would increase in ten years into about a thousand myriads of myriads, a sum which we may more easily write than apprehend; and that "a herring, if suffered to multiply "unmolested and undiminished for twenty years, "would shew a progeny greater in bulk than the "globe itself[1]."

(8) But man was not intended to remain a mere hunter; and as he advances to the pastoral stage of existence, all the animals he reclaims from the wilderness, and domesticates, become far more prolific, according to the observation of Lord Bacon, who says, "creatures, which, being wild, generate seldom; "being tame, generate often[2]:" while, by a process which Dr. Short remarks, increases their fecundity[3], the disposable stock is in effect almost doubled. But agricultural are added to pastoral pursuits, and the fertility of nature is still further augmented. Then all the fruits of the earth, so prolific in their natural state, improve and increase in proportions previously unknown, and yield their crops in constant and rapid succession. While the favourite productions of the vegetable kingdom are more carefully cultivated, and yield still greater abundance; till many a narrow horticultural strip, surrounded by delicious fruits, and bearing in its bosom, or on its surface, a profusion of nutritious produce in grateful variety, every species of which naturally increases in ratios which soon amount to numbers defying computation, becomes a sample, and perhaps a very imperfect one, of the capabilities of the mother earth,

[1] Good, Study of Medicine, vol. v., p. 7.

[2] Bacon, Century, viii. §. 758.

[3] Short, New Observations on Bills of Mortality, pp. 157, 158.

were there hands to bestow, and necessities to require, an equal culture of every part.

(9) But one of the most singular of all the assumptions which go to make up this arithmetical ratio, is, that the additions which it is allowed to yield to its product, constantly becoming relatively smaller and smaller, are nevertheless only to take place just once in every five-and-twenty years. The object is clear enough, it is to make the arithmetical series coincident in its terms with those assumed in the geometric one, and for the purpose, after all, of shewing their irreconcileable difference. But, though the object is as plain as the sun, nothing under it can be more obscure than the method taken to accomplish it, not a step of which is even once hinted at: it is asserted and assumed throughout without the slightest attempt at a proof. I must again call the recollection of those, who support and embrace such a theory, to simple matters of fact. In the first place, regarding the very slowest rate of increase which exists in the largest animals destined for the sustentation of man, and even these multiply with a certainty to which there is nothing that corresponds in the natural history of our species[1], it is to be observed, that their period of unprolificness is comparatively very short, and their term of doubling, considering that many of them often produce more than one at once, is at least annual. Those that are smaller in size, amply compensate for the difference by an increased fecundity. The sheep, for instance, especially of some breeds, has been known almost to decuple herself in about a year[2]: as to the swine, one of the most useful animals in creation, be-

[1] Dr. Short, New Observations on the Bills of Mortality, p. 157.

[2] Dr. Campbell, Political Survey of Britain, vol. ii., p. 222. See the Prolificness of Texel Sheep, ibid., vol. ii., p. 222; and Fell's Tour through the Batavian Republic, p. 66.

coming, as Plutarch observed long ago, so much more fecund in a domesticated state than in its wild one, their prolificness has been often remarked. In the latter state, they farrow but once; in the former, "twice, and sometimes even thrice, in the year. They "may rear sixteen or eighteen pigs, and there have "been instances of their having had twenty[1];" abating what you please of these numbers, still considering the early and extreme fecundity of this essentially useful animal, I ask him how many million times would a pair double, while, admitting Mr. Malthus's own hypothesis, a human couple would do so once? I shall not attempt a calculation; the result would be not very expressible in numbers, and perfectly incomprehensible in amount. I am speaking now of the natural principle of multiplication in each, if wholly unchecked, and that I conceive to be the question at the present moment; it will be discussed in a different form hereafter. As to domestic fowls, the use of which is plainly indicated by Providence, who has endowed them with corresponding powers of increase, their unchecked prolificness would again baffle all attempts at calculation;—merely to allude to it is abundantly sufficient.

(10) Pursuing the argument one step further, and turning to the vegetable kingdom, we are astounded at its very threshold: most of those instances of prolificness already mentioned as so immense, dwindle into insignificance compared with what nature here unfolds; especially in those instances where, as in the animal creation, her products are plainly destined for the immediate use of man. To talk of these adding only one arithmetical unit to their increase, and that only once in an age of five-and-twenty years, would

[1] Dr. Campbell, Political Survey, &c., vol. ii., pp. 185, 186.

be a perversion of language and truth indeed. In many instances, and in vast regions of the world, destined, it may be hoped, for the happy residence of innumerable human beings, however desolate at present, the increase, unchecked even by the revolving seasons, is going on unceasingly, and the language of the poet is no fiction,

> Co' fiori eterni, eterno il frutto dura:
> E mentre spunta l' un, l' altro matura.

But, in all climates under heaven, the due return of summer and winter, seed-time and harvest, gives the produce of the vegetable kingdom at least annually, in half the world still more frequently, and in most cases without the short period of early unprolificness being demanded. The amount of this increase who can calculate? The great Linnæus, whose researches into nature were, probably, as deep as the philosophers with whom I have to do, though his deductions from them were so different, entered into a calculation, from which it appears that a single tree bearing only two seeds annually, all its produce being equally prolific, would multiply in twenty-five years into I forget how many millions. But man does not subsist upon trees, nor is there any vegetable in the world so sterile as the above supposition. Take the pea, producing annually many hundred-fold, and who will encounter the calculation! But these ideas insensibly lead into the argument reserved for an ensuing chapter, in which these arithmetical and geometrical ratios will be considered as they are propounded to us, namely, in necessary connexion with each other, when another example or two will be given of the prolificness of nature, especially when developed by human necessity.

(11) But it will probably be objected to the preceding reasoning, that though the principles upon

which it is founded are undeniably true, yet the results to which they tend are not, and never can be, wholly realized; and that, therefore, this immense fertility of nature only exists as an abstract idea. Precisely the same might be said of the geometric ratio; and I think it but fair that they should be alike treated, either both theoretically or both practically. But waiving this defence of the preceding argument—having considered the question of the superior fertility of food to human life as an abstract, I will now proceed to examine it as an immersed, question, which, practically speaking, it is willingly acknowledged to be.

(12) Adverting to what has been already advanced in reference to this arithmetical rule of increase not being regulated by a want of space, in a world, generally speaking, all but unoccupied, and consequently as far as nature has to do with the question, where men might, for instance, plant twice the number of peas, and breed from a double number of the same animals with equal prospect of their multiplication; and believing that institutions, as far as they are concerned, always might, and generally do, facilitate and encourage them in such increasing efforts, by means which may not be direct and obvious, but are sure and constant in their operation, I shall close these remarks upon the arithmetical ratio, as it is termed, by considering what it is that limits the amazing profusion which the fertility of nature would bestow, adjusting it to the actual demands of the existing numbers of mankind. This regulation I conceive to be two-fold.

First, The amount of the means of sustentation, which are bestowed upon the sole condition of labour (a circumstance hereafter to be adverted to), is limited by the number, intelligence, and industry of the species.

Second, It is further adjusted to the extent of the

necessity and the demand that exists for those means of sustentation.

(13) These efficient causes of the limitation of the products of the earth necessary to human beings, are too obvious to need proof or illustration; a man's planting of vegetables, or rearing of cattle, must necessarily be limited in extent, by the labour and time he can bestow upon both: and again, he certainly will not continue to do either, to a degree beyond the demand for them when produced, that is, more than what he can use himself or exchange for other things desirable to him. This is evidently true as it respects individuals; and though the question becomes more complicated as it extends, it is equally so of the world at large. The balance of supply and demand may, indeed, be occasionally disturbed by accidental causes, always, I think, plain to be seen, and not so difficult of removal, as some suppose, if we would follow the leadings of nature; but the vibrations in that balance are slight and trivial, when we consider the mighty masses which it is plainly a part of the regimen of Divine Providence to preserve in constant equipoise.

(14) It, therefore, appears to me that this balance of the powers of human beings, and their necessities, is as plainly the work of that Providence, as is the ample provision he has made for the latter, under all possible contingencies. Liberal as is his hand, he, nevertheless, respects his own gifts, and demands that we should reverence and not waste them; which, in this view of the question, we never can, without inflicting want somewhere, and this circumstance perhaps constitutes the moral offence of extravagant profusion. Varying, indeed, the nature and number of his bounties in different states and degrees of society, for purposes perfectly consistent with his wisdom and bene-

volence, so as not only to sustain and solace, but to call forth the superior endowments of his supreme creature, thus sharpening his intellect, exercising his foresight, and demanding his charity,—still he has not permitted the aggregate product of that moderate labour to which he has mercifully doomed mankind, ever greatly to exceed the wants of the universal family; otherwise the consequence would probably have been a state of degradation, of which, perhaps, the animal creation furnishes no example—a condition of vice and ultimate misery, of which imagination itself can form no adequate idea. As society advances and population multiplies, the result of combined labour, aided by enlarging knowledge, becomes greatly augmented, but their condition improves in a like degree; and as the necessities of life are distributed in larger shares with proportionably less effort, its conveniences are more generally attainable, till habit renders these necessaries, when superfluities take their place, and become in general demand; so that, in every stage of society, the wants and wishes of man keep pace with his enlarging powers of improvement. As the labour of a fewer number, in proportion to the whole, accomplishes equal effects, whether applied to agricultural or other pursuits, the objects of labour become more numerous and diversified; and avocations, distinct from the drudgeries of existence, are created and multiplied, absorbing those who would be otherwise superfluous and redundant in the social system. Thus is it that mankind is preserved from that sloth, and protected from that excess, which it requires but little insight into his nature to know would be fatal to the well-being, if not to the very continuation of the species. All the steps of this progress, without entering further upon a subject, which, as essential to another part of my argument, must be again touched

upon, are sufficiently plain; and every one of them gives a decided negative to both the ratios of the system I am examining, whether considered distinctly, or in connexion with each other.

(15) To these natural limitations of the means of human subsistence, may occasionally be added, the imperfection of human institutions: when in any case, either through being erroneously formed, or inadequately executed, they fail in accomplishing, to the utmost possible degree, that which is their "great end and purpose, to "prevent misery or to cure it[1]." Supposing these in general to be conducive to the interests of mankind, and being grateful for those under which I live, more especially; I, nevertheless, will not wholly absolve them in this particular, much less will I join with those who do so, the more effectually to fix upon nature the miseries inflicted on her offspring, in proof of their principle of population.

(16) Such, then, appear to be the limitations, practically speaking, to which nature conforms, in evolving the products intended for the use and sustentation of man; and they are of such a kind as to confirm, instead of contradicting, that abstract view which has already been imperfectly taken, of her astonishing prolificness, in regard to those products. But, happily for the human race, what we have allowed to be an abstract truth under most circumstances of society, changes into a practical one, the instant it is put to the test; and the potential becomes the positive and actual produce. In contemplating this fertility, man is lost in feelings of astonishment and gratitude; he drinks, indeed, of the stream of the Divine bounty, as of a brook by the way, but he traces it to a fountain of mercies which is inexhaustible and unfathomable.

[1] Jonas Hanway, Letters to the Guardians of the Poor, Let. II., p. 7.

CHAPTER V.

OF THE THEORY OF HUMAN SUPERFECUNDITY: THE GEOMETRIC AND ARITHMETICAL RATIOS COMBINED.

(1) THE ratios which are supposed to express the natural increase of human beings, and that of their means of subsistence, having been considered severally, it remains that they be examined in connexion with each other, in which relationship they form the system now controverted; and it will appear, that if, as separate principles they have no claim to truth, when by another and a bolder assumption they are united, they have still less the semblance of it.

(2) I must again premise, that the author under examination does not present these ratios when connected, any more than when distinct from each other, as regulated by room or space; but, on the other hand, as principles which have operated in the adverse manner he represents from the very "origin of society," when the world was hardly occupied at all, and as still operating, when, according to his own admission, as well as matter of fact, it is but very partially possessed. Excepting these admissions were repeated, they would probably be lost sight of as utterly irreconcileable with the theory with which they are connected. We shall, therefore, proceed to examine them in that strange connexion in which they are said to exist, or at least as having a constant tendency so to exist, and connect themselves. In doing this, I shall again insert them in the form in which they are presented to us: the

first line representing the lowest ratio in which mankind would, if unchecked, continue to multiply; the second, the greatest in which the means of his subsistence could be made to advance, though the fertility of nature, and the combined efforts of human beings, co-operated to the utmost, in developing them. It must be remarked, that the term of both ratios is assumed to be the same, and is fixed at twenty-five years. These ratios stand thus:

1.	2.	4.	8.	16.	32.	64.	128.	256, &c.
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.	9, &c.

(3) Now the above numbers, in their relation to each other, either develope the operation of general laws of nature, or they do not. If they do, they are applicable to every period of human history. So Mr. Malthus maintains them to be, and he applies them accordingly.

(4) First, then, let us refer the sort of demonstration they are supposed to afford, to the earliest periods of history, with which it is, of course, the most natural to commence, and it will not cost many words to show, what is indeed sufficiently manifest, without spending any upon the subject, that it has no necessary or even possible reference to that state. Supposing our first progenitors, or any of their immediate offspring, to be represented by the first figure in the geometric series, 1; and their means of subsistence by the corresponding figure 1, in the second or arithmetical one: so far there is a just and natural proportion between their numbers and their food. Let the first period of doubling take place, and we see their numbers represented by the figure 2, and the proportion of food still adjusted to those numbers and expressed as amounting to 2. The increase in these numbers has brought with

it no individual advantage, which, however, is directly contradictory of the history of the species, but it has occasioned no deterioration. Well: these numbers in the former series again double, and amount to 4; but here, for the first time, we observe a serious deficiency in the provision for them, which is represented to amount to 3 only. In the third generation, therefore, there occurs a deficiency of food, amounting to one-third: no reason is stated for this, and indeed it would be one of the hardest tasks ever assigned to the human mind to frame one; but it occurs in a string of correlative figures, and consequently, it is to be regarded as a demonstration, though one would think a person must be dementated before he could propound or accept it as such. But to proceed; another generation comes, namely, the fourth, where, on precisely the same sort of demonstration, it is shown that the number of persons would be 8, and that their subsistence would be only equal to supply 4, consequently just half enough. The succeeding terms do not change the nature of the absurdity, they merely enlarge it. The fifth, sixth, and seventh places, namely the 16, 32, and 64, which, were the laws of increase observed, would have ratios for 5, 6, and 7 only, naturally refuse to have any very intimate relation to each other, or, in other words, are apparently in no exact numerical proportion; however, I believe they can divide their shares accurately enough by decimal fractions. In the seventh duplication, we find the inhabitants would outrun their subsistence in the proportion of 128 to 8, and consequently have but one-sixteenth part of a fair share each; and in the ninth, the last term given, if nature had her way, 256 would have to divide the subsistence of 9 amongst them, and each would, therefore, only have .03515625 of a ration each.

(5) It seems useless to pursue our author to the third century, when the unit of population, according to his theory, would have become 4096, and that of provision, only 13; or to the end of two thousand years, when the difference in the sum of these ratios, he observes, "would be almost incalculable[1]." I shall, therefore, proceed to shew in this chapter, and throughout the succeeding work, that the very principle of the calculation is erroneous, and that in every step it takes, each threatening a still deeper descent into the gulf of human misery, it is happily contradicted by the evidence of facts, and the universal experience of mankind.

(6) First, then, let us ask, how is it possible to imagine this principle to exist, "from the commencement of society," in theory even? in practice it is obviously impossible. I would ask, how, in a state of things where there was certainly "room enough and to spare," and in which all the motives to human exertion remained unabated, it is possible to conceive, that as in the first term, the labours of those expressed by the number 1, in the first or geometric series, should produce adequate sustentation, expressed therefore by the equal number 1, in the arithmetical series; and in the next, when the geometric number should have increased double, and consequently is expressed by the number 2; and that these two should, in like manner, produce sustentation equal to their necessities, which is, therefore, expressed by that figure—I say, how is it possible to conceive, that in the very next step, when the last term 2 has been similarly doubled, and become 4, that these four should only produce a supply equal to the necessities of 3; and, in like manner, that 8 should

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 8.

only be able to supply the wants of 4; 16 produce sufficient for 5 only; 32 for 6; 64 for 7; 128 for 8; and 256 for 9? One naturally wishes to comprehend the meaning of the author one reads, especially when an idea is entertained of answering him; but I aver, that I cannot at all apprehend how Mr. Malthus means to apply the principle which he deduces from these ratios. In the "commencement of society," from which he dates its operation, when, of course, the earth was almost entirely vacant, and through all its earlier stages, when it was scarcely more adequately possessed, even to the present time, when he acknowledges it to be not above a tenth part peopled, in reference to the provision of nature[1], which, I apprehend, is the sole question, no idea can well be conceived more at issue with either common sense or human experience, than the very existence of such a principle as these connected ratios involve. Admitting that, generally speaking, human institutions favour the development of human industry, and that they might, and always ought, to do so; with a sufficient field for exertion, "from the commencement of society," it is impossible not to believe that each successive duplication would be as successfully engaged in producing for themselves and their families the necessaries of existence, as was the first. Here the golden rule could not fail to be justly applied: if the labour of 2 individuals provided enough for 2, for how many would the labour of 256 provide? Doubtless for those 256. And this would be the case to the end of the two thousand years of which Mr. Malthus speaks, when he supposes the difference would be almost incalculable.

(7) I am willing to admit that the due proportion

[1] Malthus, Political Economy, p. 348.

between numbers and their sustenance may be, and sometimes has been, disturbed, and that occasional want and suffering have been the effect in all stages of society. And let those, whose theory I am opposing, take this admission in its utmost latitude, coupled, however, with another fact, from which it is impossible to separate it, namely, that such fluctuations have been far more severely experienced in the earlier than in the later periods of society, and consequently the wants and sufferings they occasion have been invariably the least felt in the most populous periods of the history of every country upon earth.

(8) The last idea unfolds a still truer view of the subject. That human food bears a full proportion to the numbers of human beings engaged in producing it, is not all; it is indeed very far from the whole truth. Combined labour produces results which individual exertion could never accomplish. As mankind, therefore, multiply in number, the products of their united industry would greatly exceed the amount of any mere arithmetical addition calculated on such an increase. Their several shares of sustenance consequently perpetually enlarge as their numbers accumulate, instead of being diminished in the manner and proportion which the table of the ratios under consideration pretends to demonstrate. This is true of any country advancing from barbarism to civilization, or, in other words, whose population is regularly increasing: I shall hereafter prove it true of our own in particular. It is, indeed, hardly necessary to argue that united exertion, directed by that enlarging intellect with which it is always accompanied, produces results, which, compared with those of individual and disconnected labour, exhibit a real geometrical ratio. Hence, in the mechanical arts, as well as in the pursuits of science, a man may achieve

more in a day, thus aided, than a solitary, unassisted individual could perform in his whole life, were it extended to the length of a patriarch's. The system under consideration affects to prove, by the geometric ratio, that whereas the labour of one individual would produce sufficient for himself, that of 256 could produce sufficient for 9 only; whereas it might be far more reasonably asserted, that these 256, mutually occupied, would obtain individually nine times as large a share of the necessaries and conveniences of life, as the solitary individual; indeed, it is a matter of doubt, whether, in almost any situation under heaven, a solitary individual could, unaided by his fellow-creatures, continue to exist at all, notwithstanding the beautiful fiction of De Foe. The wreck from which his hero was supplied was but the store-house of human conveniences, furnished by previous conjoint industry. Mathematical illustrations, therefore, are degraded when applied to such a subject, and engaged in such a demonstration, as this. Geometry says, indeed, and truly enough, as applied to matters within its own province, that the whole is only equal to the sum of all its parts; but, in the popular, and indeed, I may say, true signification of the term, as applied to the subject before us, this axiom would be false. Regarding labour, the great pillar of human existence, it may be said, that the entire product of combined exertion almost infinitely exceeds all which individual and disconnected efforts could possibly accomplish. And how happy it is for the human race that such is the case! How do the constantly operating motives of interest and necessity conspire to carry into effect the benevolent purposes of the Deity regarding his creatures! Thus, while the law of nature tends to the multiplication of the species, their mutual convenience, as well as duty,

and affection, lead to their permanent association; and all that distinguishes the social from the savage condition, or the highest state of civilization from the lowest, is due to their union thus dictated and rewarded.

(9) But to return to the ratios. As their adverse operation certainly cannot be dated from the commencement of society, neither can it, by any possibility, be assigned to any subsequent period between that moment and the present. "The history of the universe," as an able writer observes, "has never yet presented "the example in which the multiplication of food could "not be more rapid than that of the existing popu-"lation[1]." "No record exists," says another, "of "any extensive country fully peopled, and cultivated "to its utmost capacity, or even approaching to such "a state[2]." These are assertions which I shall deem it necessary to substantiate in detail.

(10) Nor, lastly, can the theory be now called into being and applied to the present period, over-populous as its advocates deem nearly all countries, and fearful as they seem to be in regard to their future destiny. One of them has allowed, as has been already shewn, that the earth might sustain ten-fold its present inhabitants: in the mean time, then, that "powerful instinct," with the recognition of which he sets out, continuing, I believe, unabated; the necessity of food remaining, likewise, as strong as ever, and labour being still, as was always the case, the sole condition on which that food is bestowed; and the "foodful earth," I repeat, not being above a tenth part possessed, it were surely redundant, and even ridiculous, to attempt to prove, that to whatever period it is meant to adjust this theory, it will not suit

[1] Edinburgh Encyclopædia, Art. Political Economy, vol. xvii., p. 72.

[2] Quarterly Review, vol. xvi., p. 57.

the present one, excepting, indeed, its two first terms; and on these it may be just observed, that they are in perfect unison; the discord only commences at the third bar, which increases throughout the rest of the concert. If we may be allowed to date the commencement of these ratios at pleasure, or use them as a sort of political sliding-rule, to be constantly pushed forwards, if necessary, all apprehension of the future miscalculations of nature may be disregarded, and we may enjoy a present sufficiency, which may be thus demonstrated to be perpetual. But, seriously, without touching upon abstract principles, or appealing to the condition of an uncultivated world in proof that the present cannot be the time when this system is in operation, I shall demonstrate it, by simply stating the fact, that the question amongst the nations amounting, at the present moment, almost to a quarrel, is, not which will not, but which shall be permitted to feed their neighbours. Even in this country, one of the most densely-peopled upon earth, which refused, only a short time ago, and, as I think, wisely, to be fed by any other; the circumstance of agriculture, the most essential of human pursuits, remunerating those who are engaged in it, in proportion to their capital, the most inadequately of all others, affords a full, plain, and undeniable proof of the utter fallacy of the system which represents and maintains the production of human subsistence to be slower than that of the increase of human beings. I am aware that the question is mingled up with other considerations, and that much difficulty and distress exist in consequence of the imperfect distribution of this overflowing abundance; but with this, who does not see that policy is chargeable, and not Providence? Let political economy then expound the causes and the remedies of these occasional sufferings; or, rather,

may it let the matter alone, for its officious and cruel intermeddling has greatly contributed to them; and, above all, by adopting the inhuman and absurd notion of the natural redundancy of human beings, amidst a profusion which the ministers of the country, some short while ago, positively assured us occasioned the principal difficulties under which the nation laboured.

(11) But, if neither the first stages of society, nor its subsequent progress, nor its present state, permit us to suppose the principle I am rebutting has ever as yet been in operation,—let us give this hypothetical and fugitive argument, for such it is throughout, all the benefit of that futurity into which its abettors would have us to believe they see so clearly and so far. It will then be founded on future contingencies, and its demonstrations will resolve themselves into so many prophecies. The face of the earth is hitherto, as Franklin has observed, like an extended wilderness; here and there a spot smiles with cultivation, like an oasis in the Desert; but let us, in behalf of the theory in question, suppose, what has never yet existed in any country, to exist universally, namely, the whole improvable surface of the earth appropriated and under cultivation, "till the wilderness had become an Eden." The argument is now connected with space, with which its principal author has no where ostensibly associated it, and from which indeed he has, on the contrary, been most careful to disconnect it. This very period (if in the volume of futurity there be any such page) which this principle anticipates and regards as the bankruptcy of nature, would be (and this prophecy is at least as good as the other) the period of her triumph, and that of Divine Providence. To compute the produce of the earth thus universally cultivated, if only cultivated as at present, almost

exceeds our powers of calculation. But, even this mighty mass of production would, probably, sink into insignificance, compared with the amount, all but inexpressible in numbers, of that potential produce the earth is prepared to yield, the vastness of which baffles our very conception. Is it not more stupid to doubt than to believe, that, still improved by that necessity which has hitherto been the sole means, under Providence, of bestowing plenty and conferring dignity on the human race, and assisted by enlarging knowledge and increasing numbers, the future condition of society should as far exceed even all our expectations of improvement, as our present state has, by the very same means, outstripped the most sanguine anticipations of preceding times? When Sir Walter Raleigh was memorializing King James, on the policy of feeding his people with the produce of their own soil, instead of impoverishing them to enrich foreigners[1], had he told the King that his islands, in two centuries, should sustain above twenty millions of souls, with their surface only partially and imperfectly tilled, and the "wastes of the sea" almost entirely deserted; and yet, that there should be such an "over-production" in the necessaries of life as to occasion universal distress to those who should produce them[2]; it would have appeared a wilder dream than were I memorializing his present Majesty, to assert that we could sustain, in the next two centuries, thrice our present numbers, and that not merely as liberally as we do at present, but with an increase of the comforts and an accession to the elegancies of life, as vast as have been made to the mode of existence in this country during the former

[1] Sir W. Raleigh, Observations touching Trade and Commerce; Works, vol. ii., p. 118.

[2] Lord Liverpool's Speech on Agricultural Distress, 1822; Hansard.

period. I should have at least the experience of the past to warrant my hopes as to the future, and on what surer ground can our anticipations be built? But it is rather singular, that while I should make this prophecy, flowing as it does into the full current of human experience, and another should assert what steers directly counter to it, prognosticating a constant diminution in the shares of the means of subsistence, through the whole of that and all succeeding periods, the political economists would raise a joint laugh at my folly, and a burst of applause equally unanimous at this unequivocal proof of his profound and superior wisdom.

(12) Surely then, while we disregard the mere illusions of hope, and follow only the sober lights and leadings of experience, we cannot greatly err. In the generous rivalry between labour and production, who can ever dare to deny that nature has hitherto been triumphant? When an adequate stimulus shall inspire and direct the corporeal and mental powers of mankind to the raising of human food, who then shall presume to pronounce that they will not achieve those miracles in behalf of agriculture, which they have already done for the infinitely less important arts? In an age which professes to be that of advancing intellect in reference to every other pursuit, are we to believe that in this, which, beyond them all calls it into vigorous exercise[1], it has already come to a stand? In an age which boasts of its numerous discoveries, must we suppose that, in this necessarily philosophical avocation[2], there are no "Arcana, which the Supreme "Father of all has reserved in store, in order to reward "the diligence and supply the wants which naturally

[1] Dr. A. Smith, Wealth of Nations. [2] Pliny, Nat. Hist., l. xviii., c. 25.

"present themselves, when nations are rendered "populous, merely by being virtuous, laborious, and "frugal[1]"? For myself, I believe most firmly, that should such a period be destined to arrive, it will be that which shall least of all exemplify the theory I am considering. On the contrary, it will be that of the triumphs of nature, in which her noblest creature will partake. Superior methods of improving the fertility and increasing the products of the earth will be discovered, and inexhaustible storehouses of the bounties of nature laid open to mankind, as such shall become, successively, necessary. Necessity has, indeed, occasionally, given us some slight indications already of what might be the result should such a state of things supervene; and curiosity and science have added some faint lights on the same subject. The effects of minute cultivation, directed by intelligence, will be a short, but, to the author, a favourite branch of the ensuing argument[2]; in the mean time, those effects so produced are no new discovery, they are as ancient as the first agricultural writer in the world. Hesiod informs us of a truth as applied to this subject, which neither geometry nor arithmetic would admit; but which is nevertheless a fact, which common sense has acknowledged since it was exercised[3], "the half is more than the whole." In an agricultural sense, how often this experiment might be repeated and still be true, I cannot determine; more than once, as a much later writer declares, though to us an ancient one, (so rapidly rolls time away, either corroborating or rebutting the theory we are considering; let the reader reflect which!) I mean Columella. He gives us, in his elegant work on

[1] Harte, Essays on Husbandry, vol. i., p. 33.

[2] Book vi.

[3] πλέον ἥμισυ παντός.—Hesiod.

agriculture, an anecdote relative to a Roman father, who having two daughters, gave a third part of his land to the eldest on her marriage, as her dower, and nevertheless found no diminution of his accustomed crop. On the marriage of his other daughter, he gave her half the remainder, and still his produce was not at all lessened. He asks the reason why this was the case, and answers, only because the remnant was so much better cultivated than the whole had previously been [1]. The results of labour when directed to agricultural pursuits have, I think, been seldom duly appreciated. Probably all those surprising ameliorations, (only inferior to a new creation,) which are known to have taken place in the vegetable as well as the animal kingdom, are justly attributable to it; and it is most interesting to observe, that notwithstanding the claim of Diodorus Siculus in favour of his native country, it is not ascertained that "the staff of life," wheat, is indigenous in any climate upon earth; on the contrary, it has been supposed to belong to some of the tribes of grasses, with which it is classed, meliorated by continued culture.

(13) The mention of this first and universal gift of nature suggests a few observations in reference to its possible fertility, not inapplicable in this place, and least of all to the general subject. The Roman naturalist, Pliny, notices more than once, its extraordinary prolificness, under certain circumstances, and draws an inference from the fact, the piety of which may perhaps shock the principles of the philosophers

[1] I subjoin the text of the above paraphrase, which runs thus:—"Refert "Græcinus in libro de vineis, ex patre "suo sæpe se audire solitum, Paridium "quendam duas filias, et vineis con- "situm habuisse fundum, cujus partem "tertiam nubenti majori filiæ dedisse "in dotem, ac nihilo minus æque mag- "nos fructus ex duabus partibus ejus- "dem fundi percipere solitum. Mino- "rem deinde filiam nuptui collocasse in "dimidia parte reliqui agri. Nec sic "ex pristino reditu detraxisse. Quod "quid conjecit? *Nisi melius scilicet "postea cultam esse tertiam illam "fundi partem, quam antea univer- "sam.*" — Columella, De Re Rustica, l. iv., c. 3.

I am opposing a much earlier writer, indeed the first of profane historians, speaking of the astonishing prolificness of certain descriptions of grain, as witnessed by himself, which, however, he says, he cannot bring himself to mention, as those who had not seen it would deem his representation an outrage upon probability, says of wheat, in reference to the same region, Babylonia, that "it never produces less than two "hundred fold; in seasons which are remarkably "favourable, it will rise to three hundred. The ear "of their wheat as well as their barley is four digits "in size[2]." Of this, I repeat, he declares himself the witness, nor shall I discredit the simple and ancient historian, having long learnt not to contradict peremptorily what I do not happen to know, or am not able fully to comprehend. On the contrary, the further I have proceeded in this work, the more I have been disposed to believe it. Convinced as I am, that the prolific powers of nature generally rise in proportion to the numbers of those who are engaged in developing them, and adverting to the amazing population of the plains of Babylonia, the fertility of which he is describing, I am not greatly staggered by the ocular evidence of Herodotus. And why should any one? Late observations have fully confirmed it. Duhamel mentions his having counted 200 ears produced from one grain of barley, in which there were 4809 grains; the straw yielding a sheaf[3].

(14) But to mention one instance more concerning the almost inconceivable prolificness of nature under minute culture, and that in reference to a description

[1] Tritico nihil est fertilius: hoc ei natura tribuit, quoniam eo maximè alebat hominem: utpote cum e modio, si sit aptum solum, quale in Byzacio Africæ campo, centeni quinquageni modii reddantur. Misit ex eo loco Divo Augusto procurator ejus ex uno grano (vix credibile dictu) quadraginta paucis minus germina. Misit et Neroni similiter 360 stipulas ex uno grano.—C. Plin. Nat. Hist., lib. xviii. § 21.

[2] Herodotus, Clio, § 193.

[3] Duhamel, Husbandry, p. 113.

of corn which an enlarging population has in these days been enabled to make their staff of life—wheat. Mr. Charles Miller, an individual well known in the horticultural world, and son of the celebrated Philip Miller, author of the Gardener's Dictionary, gives us an experiment, at large, which he made in the Botanical Garden at Cambridge, of which he was the Curator. The results of this experiment were published in the Transactions of the Royal Society[1], and verified by Dr. Watson. I need hardly say that wheat is one of those plants which, according to the phraseology of agriculturists, stools; that is, throws out lateral roots capable of producing separate stems, indicating the facility with which another principle of multiplication, transplantation, may be resorted to, whenever the necessity of human beings may require it. It was on this principle of culture that Mr. Henry obtained the following result, which I give in Dr. Watson's own words, referring the reader for the process to the paper alluded to. "The whole number of ears which, by the "process before-mentioned, were produced from one "grain of wheat was twenty-one thousand one hun-"dred and nine, which yielded three pecks and three "quarters of clear corn, the weight of which was forty-"seven pounds seven ounces; and, from a calculation "made by counting the number of grains in one ounce, "the whole number of grains might be about five "hundred and seventy-six thousand eight hundred "and forty!" Mr. Miller says, that had he made an additional division of the plants in the spring, as he found, by an experiment which he made of the like nature, he might have done without at all weakening them, the number of his plants would have been at least four-fold: between two and three million-

[1] Philosophical Transactions, A. D. 1768, vol. xii. p. 554.

fold return from one grain! Does this savour much of the arithmetical ratio? Mr. Malthus speaks of what his geometric one would amount to in 200 years, but not all the arithmeticians in the universe could calculate the prolificness of this grain for twenty of them.

(15) Many similar instances in regard to the possible multiplication both of plants and animals, especially those which are destined for human food, might be adduced, but these may suffice; and before I close this view of the subject, I will just advert to an objection which Mr. Malthus seems disposed to make to the successive increase of the means of subsistence, even in his own arithmetical ratio; founded, I think, either on the natural barrenness of the soil that must be successively taken into cultivation, or on some supposed exhaustion in the fertility of that already occupied. He says, "it must be evident to those who have "the slightest acquaintance with agricultural subjects, "that in proportion as cultivation extended, the addi- "tions that could yearly be made to the former average "produce must be *regularly* and gradually *diminish*- "ing[1]." Supposing this idea is founded on the presumed incurable sterility of the soil now uncultured, I would remark that nothing can be more incorrect. Without pretending to an acquaintance with agriculture, I know so much of it as to be assured that where physical obstacles of an insuperable nature do not interpose, fertility is in great measure the effect of human industry; nay, that that degree of sterility which calls forth a superior degree of industry, is frequently productive of a greater fertility, instead of a less one[2]. But without multiplying words on this topic, and to point to a standing proof of the fact, does

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 7.
[2] See Aristotle, De Repub., l. iv., c. 5. Linnæus, Inaugural Oration, in Stillingfleet, pp. 28, 29.

not every one know that "has the slightest acquaintance with agricultural pursuits," that the most prolific surface, beyond all comparison, in central Europe, was, on the unanimous authority of all writers, especially agricultural ones, originally and naturally one of the most sterile[1],—I need not say I allude to the Netherlands. The astonishing productiveness of that country, far exceeding the wants of its immense population, has induced many, in their imaginations at least, to invest the soil with a sort of preternatural fertility, whereas the reverse is the fact; and that productiveness, which varies even there, is perpetually governed, not by the quality of the soil, but by the density of the population[2]. This subject will be attended to hereafter, when this interesting part of Europe will be again adverted to, and an argument grounded upon it urged in behalf of those of our poor countrymen who are now beginning to be thought redundant, and to be treated as such. In the mean time, let those who charge this total ignorance of agriculture upon such as hold that, as cultivation extends, the average products do not decrease, bring us a single instance which will not manifest their own. The fact is, the products of the earth rise in their proportions as mankind multiply; were there no other reason, stercoration becomes so much more general in the latter case, as greatly to increase the relative produce[3], the effects of which are such, that some have almost imagined that, on a perfect system, it would return to the soil the elements of a future increase amounting

[1] Abbé Mann, Communications to the Board of Agriculture, vol. i., p. 230, &c. Harte's Essays, p. 177. Louis Buonaparte, Historical Documents, &c. on the Government of Holland, p. 16. Radcliff, Report on the Agriculture of Flanders, pp. 1, 89, 90, 94, 105, 109, 128, 146, &c. &c.

[2] Communications to the Board of Agriculture, Baron Poederle, vol. i., p. 247. Abbé Mann, vol. i., p. 232.

[3] Paley, Moral Philosophy, b. vi., c. xi., p. 459.

to as much as that from which it was derived[1]. And how wise and how kind is that provision of nature which disposes in so essentially beneficial a manner of what would otherwise form an intolerable and an accumulating nuisance! Were it not for this last consideration, I should be disposed to believe, what many facts seem to prove, and science itself to sanction, namely, that the fertility of the soil depends more upon its perpetual exposure to the atmosphere and its pulverization, or in other words, to human labour, than to all other circumstances combined[2].

(16) But perhaps the author I have been referring to may attribute "that gradual and regular diminution "in the power of production[3]," which he so confidently predicts would take place in an enlarging population, to some supposed gradual exhaustion of the natural prolificness of the soil in consequence of continued culture. But this is an idea fully as erroneous as the former; and again directly the reverse of the fact, as might easily be proved by the history of agricultural products in this or in any other country. To instance England: in the thirteenth century, "the pro-"duce of an acre of wheat was probably much under "a quarter[4]." In three centuries afterwards, Harrison informs us, that the same measure of land, "well "tilled and dressed, will in many years commonlie "yield sixteen or twentie bushels[5]." I leave it to agriculturists to determine the great increase which has taken place in less than three centuries since. At all events, from three to four times the produce is now raised from the same extent of land that was raised.

[1] Radcliff, Report of the Agriculture of Flanders.

[2] Ibid., p. 168. See Tull's Husbandry, p. 230. Sir Humphry Davy, P. R. S., Agricultural Chemistry, pp. 159, 160. Wimpey, Rural Improvements, p. 67.

[3] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 7.

[4] Sir F. M. Eden, State of the Poor, vol. iii. Appendix, p. x. note.

[5] Description of Britain, Hollingshed, vol. i., p. 110.

less than six centuries ago; leaving wholly out of the question that root which has multiplied human subsistence beyond any of the ratios contended for, and to which our anti-populationists consequently entertain an instinctive aversion; I mean the potato, the least exhausting of all crops whatsoever, of equal bulk[1]. It is, therefore, sufficiently clear, that, with an increasing population, land in all cases improves. The idea of its exhaustion is totally out of the question. Even the ancients knew better than this; and hence one of the most beautiful of their poets represents the fertility of the earth as unabated under the unceasing culture of the husbandman[2].

(17) On the whole, therefore, we may conclude that nothing like deterioration of soil exists in nature. What Lord Bacon calls "satiety of ground[3]" certainly does, demanding a change and succession of crops; which seems a guarantee of nature for the continuation of all her useful products; a law interdictory of the continued cultivation of one to the exclusion of the rest. If this be a just view, Dr. Franklin's idea of overspreading the whole surface of the earth with fennel, by the geometric ratio of multiplications, is as futile as his notion of converting its substance into solid gold by the help of compound interest: except Providence favours fennel above any of the frumentaceous plants. And, moreover, this "satiety of ground" has, as it were, dictated a system of husbandry which has not only secured the variety, but increased the quantity, of all the useful products of nature.

[1] Newenham, Inquiry into the Progress of Population in Ireland, p. 15.

[2] θεῶν τις τὰν ὑπερτάταν, Γᾶν
ἄφθιτον, ἀκάματον
ἀποτρύεται, ἱλλομένων ἀρότρων
ἔτος εἰς ἔτος.—Sophocles, Antig.—337—342.

[3] Bacon, Nat. Hist. cent. vii. § 669.

(18) Having thus answered the objections urged against a further cultivation of the earth with every prospect of an enlarging fertility, I shall conclude these observations with a quotation from an author who has ably illustrated many departments of human industry, especially those connected with agriculture, I mean Dr. Anderson: he says, "The alarms which have been "raised by the speculations of ingenious but ill-in-"formed men, respecting the inability of this country "to support its present or probable future population, "are entirely unfounded. Had I merely asserted, as "indeed I have done, from my own knowledge of the "facts here brought to light," (alluding to his preceding essays,) "that this country could sustain a "hundred times its present population, it would have "been considered as one of those vague and un-"founded assertions which are now so common, and "therefore disregarded. But after having traced the "progress by which this melioration may be effected, "through every step of that progress, with a minute "attention to every particular, so as to render it im-"possible for any person who is acquainted with "these things to allege that any thing that is there "said is not easily practicable, the demonstration "becomes so complete as not to admit of a doubt "in any ingenious mind[1]." This author, it appears from Mr. Malthus, wrote on the subject of the scarcity that occurred in the beginning of this century, and, it seems, asserted that increasing numbers engaged in agricultural labour would, in any state not fully cultivated, augment the relative quantity of provisions. Mr. Malthus, as is not unusual with him, affects an air of great superiority in the argument, and is witty on the occasion and on the author. Nevertheless, if

[1] Dr. Anderson, Recreations, vol. vi., p. 554.

there be any one point clear in theory, and demonstrated by fact, it is that which he attempts to deride. Mr. Malthus relies on "the known incredulity of the age," (of which, however, he has the least reason to complain of any author I ever yet read,) asserting that such an opinion would not be believed though one should rise from the dead to confirm it. There is no need of the miracle. Numbers who lived at that period survive as yet, and are more unexceptionable witnesses, in behalf of the real philosopher who comes under Mr. Malthus's lash, because he fell into the "curious" notion that an increase in population "tends to increase relative plenty[1]." A late prime minister of the country is one of these witnesses[2]. Twenty years afterwards, and within four of the present time, when many millions had been added to the population, and thereby given that additional stimulus to agriculture to which Dr. Anderson alluded, he asserted, and, I presume, proved, in a long and elaborate speech delivered in his place in the British Parliament, that the unexampled sufferings of the cultivators arose from over-production! It is not necessary, therefore, that one should rise from the dead, nor the author himself from his grave, for I understand that, after a life of long and meritorious exertion, he is descended thither, to witness the triumph of the rational and benevolent principles he so ably advocated. Time has added the seal of truth to them, and the nation is their witness.

(19) Whether the numbers and necessities of mankind will ever call into actual and general use any of those agricultural experiments which have been alluded to, or indeed revive that minuter system of

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 472, note.

[2] Lord Liverpool.

cultivation which we have every reason to believe was resorted to very early in some of the most populous parts of the earth, and especially in Judea, it remains for time to discover. Lord Bacon observes, that "the setting of wheat has been left off, because of the trouble and pains[1]." It was revived in this country for a time, but is, I believe, again very generally abandoned, for a reason which is substantially the same with that Lord Bacon assigns, and which it would be hard to reconcile with the existence of a superfluity of human beings and a deficiency of food; namely, because "it does not pay:" expressions which only assert, in other terms, that it is not wanted.

(20) I shall not prolong this part of the discussion by entering into any calculations myself, in order to show how many human beings any particular part, or the whole of the earth, might sustain; many besides Dr. Anderson have already made them; nor shall I presume to determine with him that this kingdom would support one hundredfold its present numbers, or with Mr. Malthus, that the world would only accommodate ten times as many as it does now. I shall rather hazard an opinion, which, I trust, I shall prove, before I have concluded this volume, to rest upon surer grounds than mere conjecture,—that the ratio of human increase will pause far sooner than that of the means of subsistence. Nature does not love to place her operations on the utmost boundaries of possibility, nor to put in jeopardy the happiness, much less the existence, of any of her offspring, by nice and exact calculations, liable to be disturbed by accidental events. In all probability, she has not, therefore, anticipated this universal and extreme culture, nor yet that general parsimony in the sharing of

[1] Nat. Hist., cent. v., § 442.

its products, to which such views might seem to lead. On the contrary, she appears to secure all her important ends by the amplest means; life is, of all those ends, the most important: and, moreover, it is as plainly her intention to unite pleasure with existence, as it is to confer and perpetuate it. As it respects sustentation, there is not the least evidence, throughout all the tribes of animal life, that is not abundantly sufficient, as will be further shown hereafter. Respecting man, as far as she is concerned, his provision is superabundant, not only satisfying his wants, but soliciting his appetite by a constant succession of grateful varieties, which increase around him the more he multiplies, and the farther he advances in the social system. Such has been the experience of the human race hitherto; and if we carry forth our ideas to the end of time (if our anti-populationists will admit that time is to terminate), when "the great globe itself, and all that it inherits, shall dissolve," it will be at a period probably when society shall have advanced to a state of comparative ease, and in a time of more universal plenty, when they shall be "marrying and giving in marriage"—enjoying, as well as perpetuating, existence—rather than suffering the last act of that final tragedy with which the system I am opposing threatens the human race.

(21) To advert, then, once more, to the geometric and arithmetical ratios: In none of the states of society already contemplated is their existence and operation possible. There only remains one condition to be examined in reference to them. It is that in which, to give imagination the utmost latitude, the means of subsistence shall have been developed to the utmost extent. When the earth, by the increase of its inhabitants, shall have its entire

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surface cultivated, and that cultivation carried on in every part to the highest degree of perfection; the great and wide sea also, "in which are things innumerable," fully explored, and yielding its utmost tribute (but is that possible?) to the sustentation of human beings: in a word, when nature, however solicited, can yield no further increase. Now, it must be clear, from one moment's reflection, that the arithmetical ratio of increase is a more impossible supposition in this last, than it was even in the first state of human society. Whatever becomes of the geometric ratio it is needless to enquire; the arithmetical one has come to a dead halt. Commencing from this period, the first term cannot be doubled; that is, the 1 turned into 2; nor, in the second, that 2 into 3; nor, taking the ratio at a more advanced stage, can a single unit be added to any sum which the theory may be supposed to have already generated. We have arrived at an age of the world when, "by the singular providence of God," these ratios, which, since the first of time, have never been a very harmonious couple, shall be finally divorced, and mankind left with their geometric propensities as lively as ever; but the earth shall have been deprived of its arithmetical ones. The bankruptcy of nature is announced, and its insufficient assets placed under the management of checks which have already declared the principle on which it is proper to make the dividend. The rich they will "fill with good things," but the poor and hungry they will "send empty away." I believe there is a slight alteration in the reading of this old author, but it is "another pleasing proof" how well Christianity can be made to adapt itself to the times, and, under certain expounders, to the rich and great at all times.

(22) These ratios, therefore, express nothing, and

only prove what they express. The arithmetical one cannot represent the increase in the products of nature before the earth is entirely cultivated; it is quite as impossible it should do so afterwards. From first to last, whether viewed with the lights of human reason or experience, it is as ungrounded a sophism as ever was presented to the mind of man. I shall conclude my remarks on these ratios by observing,—

First,—The means of human subsistence, whether animal or vegetable, increase in a proportion, the ratio of which is in all cases greater, in many almost infinitely so (as well as far more rapid), than those assigned to the principle of human increase in the theory under notice.

Second,—Human beings increase in a different proportion, and one which is constantly regulated by their co-existing numbers.

Third,—The geometric and arithmetical ratios of the prevailing principle of population, false, as we have seen, when considered separately, are, when combined, still more contrary to truth and experience. If, therefore, the series of figures which is made to represent the natural increase of mankind, and that which is to show the increase of their means of subsistence, were to be interchanged, or, in other words, turned topsy-turvy, they might, though still in an inadequate degree, exhibit that overflowing sufficiency which Providence at present bestows upon the human race, as well as that increasing and inexhaustible provision which is laid up for all future generations of mankind.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE CONDITION ON WHICH THE MEANS OF SUBSISTENCE ARE BESTOWED, AND THE PRECEDENCE OF POPULATION TO PRODUCTION.

(1) THE researches of philosophy, as well as the dictates of common sense and the evidence of universal experience, prove, beyond all doubt, an intention in the Great First Cause adequately to provide for all his animated offspring; and that he is in the unceasing act of fulfilling that intention. The same lights will likewise serve to shew us that such provision is nevertheless conditional; and furthermore, that the very nature of the condition is in perfect accordance with the benignity of his universal system: that, as it respects mankind more particularly, it is made the means not merely of preserving existence, but of conferring and perpetuating happiness. That condition is exertion.

(2) Although this fact is essential to a right view of that divine economy by which the gift of existence is continued and rendered valuable to its possessors, it would not, in a work which will necessarily carry out the argument to a considerable length, have been made a subject of distinct consideration, had it not been for a very extraordinary position which seems fundamental to the theory now controverted; namely, an asserted precedence in the production of food to the increase of population[1]. I am not sorry, however, that the argument must necessarily take this direction,

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, pp. 476, 477, 478, &c.

as it will thereby shew more fully the imperfect grounds on which the present system of population is built, and at the same time tend to illustrate still more forcibly the perfect harmony of a happier principle with the interests of human nature, and the perfections of the Deity.

(3) Exertion, as the condition of existence, is the catholic law of animated nature; affecting, indeed, her different tribes in very various degrees, proportioned to their several means and necessities, but falling upon the human race far the most onerously, and with what might indeed be deemed, if hastily viewed, with undue severity. But this law, as it respects mankind, becomes, when properly considered, the charter by which he does not merely exist, but by which he holds the supremacy over creation, and ultimately rises still more elevated in intellect than in station. "It is ob-"servable," says Lord Hale, "that as the wise God "hath put all things in motion and action, the hea-"venly bodies, the elementary natures, the meteors, "the animals; so it is his wisdom to preserve man "also in that bodily as well as mental motion, and by "a kind of necessity drive him from sloth and idle-"ness: if he will live, he must eat; and if he will "eat, he must labour[1]."

(4) To that primeval law, or promise (or more properly both) of the Creator, now so frequently quoted to be controverted and ridiculed, but which the voice of nature utters quite as distinctly as that of God,—"Increase, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it;" is added another, equally important, and which, in the present condition of our nature, may be again considered both as a law and a promise,—"By the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat

[1] Lord Hale, Origination of Mankind, p. 371.

bread!" I hope there will be no cavil raised against these terms, as I claim for them no additional force or authority on the ground of divine inspiration. They form that code of nature which has been uttered in all languages, and observed in all nations; they bear the stamp of everlasting truth, which no vain attempts either at argument or ridicule will ever efface.

(5) There are, however, those who hold that this first great law of nature is repealed and obsolete; and boldly call the breach of it, while clearly contemplating the tremendous consequences that must inevitably ensue[1], a "virtue[2]" which they designate by the specious name of "moral restraint." Touching the second, they will have it, in flat contradiction to common sense, that man's bread precedes the sweat of his brow; that production is prior to population. It is ever thus with those notions which shock the plain sense and feelings of mankind; they commence with impiety, and terminate in absurdity; impiety which a pagan would abhor—absurdity which a peasant would instantly detect.

(6) But to state the principles of those whose system I am opposing, as clearly as I can: having exhibited two lines of progressive numbers, which, without further proof, are to pass for demonstrations of the rapidity with which mankind would increase, and the comparative tardiness with which, at the utmost, his means of subsistence could be made to advance; and connecting them so as to shew how utterly inadequate the latter would be to suffice for the former; they maintain, that the principles, thus adverse, are reconciled in practice by the operation of certain expedients, which make the numbers

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 3, [2] Ibid. p. 493, &c.

in the first line balance with those in the second; these are called "checks," and operate either to confine, within narrower limits than nature designed, the prolificness of mankind, or to thin their numbers if that prolificness is not so restrained. Thus restrained and checked, population is kept down to the level of food, which of course it never exceeds. But it is to be remarked that, according to their ideas, production invariably precedes population. If, then, the quantity of food already produced, not only regulates the march of population, but precedes it, it seems to me that the precedence in the two lines of figures referred to is misplaced. The increase of food, or the arithmetical series, ought to have been first announced, and that would have then shown the utmost possible increase of human beings; all beyond which could only have existed in idea, and the tremendous and still increasing catalogue of evils and sufferings with which it threatens mankind, could not then have haunted even the imagination. If production invariably takes the start, there can be little need for us to undertake the rather difficult task of regulating the number of our fellow-creatures that are to follow. It would be a sort of hyper-legislation to remodel our laws so as to meet a tendency which can never be called into operation, and a theory which can never manifest itself as a reality. I am fully aware that the above notion is subservient to certain views of the state of society in different countries, taken for the purpose of supporting the theory. It appears, however, totally irreconcileable with the general principle which it is brought forward to sustain.

(7) Before proceeding any further in the argument, it may be proper to state what is meant to be admitted, as well as what is intended to be disproved. It is

fully conceded, and, indeed, forms part of the system which is announced and defended in this treatise, that the numbers of mankind, and the measure of their means of subsistence, have a very strict and constant relation to each other; and, consequently, that population cannot materially exceed the food necessary for its support, no more than food can materially exceed the demands of the population that raises it. And it is this essential relation between numbers and food, combined with and modified by the other wants and necessities of the human race, which constitutes that platform, if I may so speak, on which the social system is erected, and by which it is compacted together. Furthermore, it is not meant to be denied, that in certain instances population and production may have a mutual and simultaneous influence; but the question is, which of these, as an universal principle, precedes the other? and so long as causes shall be allowed to precede their effects, so long will it be acknowledged that population precedes production. Political economists, indeed, make a jargon of human language, as well as havoc with common sense, and tell us that supply regulates demand; and, in like manner, on the subject of human increase, they assure us that production precedes population: but we dissent from both notions; and, in respect to the latter, while we readily admit that there is necessarily a very exact connexion between population and production, we maintain the precedence of the former; and, instead of "population being limited by the means of subsistence[1]," a favourite and fundamental axiom of the theory under consideration,—we assert directly the contrary, namely, that the means of subsistence are produced and limited by the population. If the former

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, pp. 16, 350, &c.

position were true, it is hard, if not impossible, to conceive how mankind could advance; if the latter, it is difficult to believe they will ever retrograde.

(8) Let us, then, examine the question as it respects mankind either in their individual or collective capacity; omitting any reference to the "golden age" of poetry, or the paradisiacal one of divinity, as well as those exceptions from the general laws of nature which are created by civil institutions, and which, indeed, when properly considered, can hardly be deemed exceptions. It will then appear that mankind, generally speaking, "labour that they may live, and live only because they labour[1]." And, inasmuch as the means of their subsistence are always of a perishable nature, and therefore cannot be long anticipated or greatly accumulated, they live only so long as they continue to labour. To say, then, that population does not precede production, as it applies to human beings in the mass, is to say that they labour before they exist. And not to dwell exclusively upon the more perishable necessities of our existence, all that is valuable or ornamental in a social or national point of view is attributable to this precedency, because, as Pericles said to the Athenians, "Lands and houses "can never acquire men, but are by men ac- "quired[2]."

(9) What is true of mankind, considered generally, is still more evident when they are viewed individually. As it regards the bulk of the human race, every man labours for his subsistence; and even those who, at first sight, might be supposed exceptions from this law of necessity, are, in many cases, such as are subjected to its severest operation, in having to render

[1] Lord Hale, Origination of Mankind, p. 371.
[2] Thucyd., lib. i., ch. 143.

that mental exertion which is often far more "wearisome to the flesh" even than bodily fatigue; while those very few who are considered as totally exempt from its operation are only privileged to perform by proxy what the rest are obliged to do personally, which, as it respects the point at issue, amounts to precisely the same thing.

(10) This law, therefore, is operative upon man, both in his individual and collective capacity, and is equally productive of the same results. Take an illustration of both conditions from the inimitable novel of Defoe; when his hero, Robinson Crusoe, in his solitary condition, had only himself to sustain, he limited his labours to that sole object; but when he found that the number of his "mouths" was increased, he set about rearing more tame goats, and took in and cultivated an additional quantity of ground; and such, I maintain, will continue to be the conduct of mankind—at all events, till human industry is pushed to its final limits, which none have contended it has yet approached. To these limits, however, the argument, as presented to us, seems to have no reference; this precedence of food to population being one of those inherent laws of nature which is represented as operating from "the commencement of society," and operating so as to confirm, instead of curing, those evils which the principle of population is said to occasion.

(11) I believe, however, that the advocates of the prevailing system will hardly proceed to the length of maintaining that human wants are not the spur to human exertions; but, perhaps, they rather wish, by presenting the subject in a general and obscure point of view, to convey the idea that it is some imaginary surplus of food that precedes and occasions every in-

crease of population, though it is very difficult to perceive how such a position could be made to square with their notions of a strong and constant tendency in human beings always to exceed the utmost limits of their subsistence. But while we maintain a constant sufficiency in nature to sustain all her creatures, we deny the fact that there is, generally speaking, that surplus; and, furthermore, we assert, and shall hereafter prove, that, were such the case, it would have an effect directly contrary to what they suppose —it would diminish, rather than increase, the natural prolificness of the species. In the mean time there is not an individual of that mighty mass of human beings by whose labours the world is sustained, who does not know and feel that he "works for his bread;" and both the language and its meaning will survive the sophism which they flatly contradict.

(12) But if labour, as the condition of subsistence, be the catholic law of Nature, it is interesting to observe with what tenderness she administers it, tempering it with those feelings of compassion or affection which render it altogether an ordinance of mercy. It has been observed already, that this law extends to all animated life; but, in one respect, the human race stand pre-eminently distinguished from the brute creation, in that, when a fellow-being may be no longer capable of this labour, through age or sickness, or prevented from beneficially exercising it by human institutions or monopolies, the rest, by a little increased exertion, perform his share; and he enjoys, in some humble measure, the effect of that labour which he can no longer yield. Still the law is not broken, it is fulfilled vicariously. And the feeling of compassion is deeply implanted in our nature, to answer this particular purpose, and in ours alone: amongst all the

inferior animals, such sufferers are left to expire unassisted, and, indeed, in many cases, are hurried out of existence. A remaining state of life, equally incapable of fulfilling, personally, the condition on which the means of subsistence are conferred, and one among human beings peculiarly helpless and protracted, that of infancy, is not only defended, but supplied by one of the strongest feelings of the human heart, parental affection;—a principle that not merely impels the parent to those necessary additional exertions of which the offspring is incapable, but, unsatisfied with producing a mere sufficiency for the object of its solicitude, prompts those additional and continued efforts which, in most cases, would not be endured from merely personal considerations. The increasing prosperity of mankind is fairly resolvable into this feeling, and many of their proverbial truths attest it. But still, it must be observed, that Nature, whether in the instance of our destitute brother, or our helpless child, never allows her law to be broken; she only permits, or, more properly, enjoins, that, in such cases, it should, as has been before observed, be obeyed vicariously.

(13) But, in arguing on the precedence of production to population, Mr. Malthus descends into a minute examination of the subject, tracing it, as it should seem, to its source, in doing which I shall attempt to imitate him. In replying, in a subsequent edition, to one of his opponents, he says, "in the course of the "next twenty-four hours there will be about eight "hundred children born in England and Wales; and "I will venture to say that there are not ten out of "the whole number that come at the expected time, "for whom clothes are not prepared before their "birth[1]." We may venture, however, to contradict

[1] Dr. Short, New Observations, &c., p. 55.

this. As he seems to have made a minute calculation on the occasion, for what purpose is not very apparent, he ought to have remembered that, in his 800 daily births, there would be, according to the calculations of an author he often quotes, founded on actual observations, about twenty-four twins and trigemini[1]. According to other authorities, there would be rather fewer. A large proportion of these births being in the lower classes of society, we may be sure that most of the supernumeraries, at all events, would not have had clothes prepared for them before their birth. But, amidst all this affected precision, it is somewhat astonishing, that it was not perceived that the statement had nothing whatever to do with the matter at issue, which, as applied to the instance adduced, is simply this:—Whether the existence and consequent expectation of these 800 unborn children, caused their clothes to be prepared, or their prepared clothes caused the existence of the 800 children? If the latter be the fact, which this argument implies,—if it imply any thing,—then, I hope those resolutely self-denying and patriotic old maidens, who are eulogized so highly by the same author, and from whose merits I mean not to detract, will beware how, like so many Dorcases, they continue to make garments for the poor, especially for poor infants, with which employments many of them are atoning for their conduct, and encouraging in others, the fulfilment of the duties they would not encounter themselves. Clothes, I admit, with Mr. Malthus, are the only necessaries which infants require from human labour; if, then, provision, as it respects them, precede population and occasion it, "our breeders," as old Graunt calls them, breed up to the products of the shuttle, rather than the plough.

[1] Short, New Observations on the Bills of Mortality.

If, then, Providence could only break the shackles of the arithmetical ratio as it regards the production of food, we may rest assured that the steam-loom would keep pace with the geometric one, as it respects clothing, at least to such a distant period as might, as Mr. Malthus himself owns, "be fairly left to Providence[1]."

(14) But I should not be satisfied to dismiss this subject without a more serious and appropriate view of it, seeing that the consideration, tenderness, I may call it, of Divine Providence, is peculiarly manifested in the gradual way in which he augments the numbers of his rational offspring, giving timely warning of every immortal being whom it pleases him to call into existence, and an abundant opportunity, after each accession to his universal family, for preparing adequate subsistence. During the protracted period of human gestation, parental solicitude has full time for preparation; and that preparation, as far as this feeling effectuates it, (and here I defy the sophists to raise a cavil,) is the consequence of the intimation nature has already given. But to be minutely particular, and to commence with a period previous to that which human exertion has any thing to do with preparing the necessary sustentation. That secretion which is to constitute the aliment of the future infant, is the consequence of impregnation. Again; the human being appears before the food of innocence is evolved in the maternal bosom; where it hangs, and is sustained for an equal period, before it makes a demand upon any other source; and when it does partake of the products of the earth, how small is the share that suffices to preserve in health and beauty that infancy, the sight of which gladdens and exhilarates every feeling heart! From the period of conception, two successive harvests, generally

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 354.

speaking, intervene; always one, before the smiling infant, often the living nuisance of the theory I am opposing, asks a morsel from either the crops or the flocks of the earth; a demand which the exulting parent hears with gladness, and has already more than anticipated; I say more than anticipated, for it is the feeling which this infancy has excited, and continues to excite, that is the main stimulus of all those labours and exertions which have elevated the social state of man above the savage, and spread with plenty, and adorned with magnificence, the richest nations of the habitable globe. In a moral sense it has effected still more for mankind, converting exertions, which would be otherwise selfish and mercenary, into those prompted by disinterested and holy affections; purifying the feelings, and elevating the character of the human race. The serpents of vice and sloth are still strangled from the cradle!

(15) Mr. Malthus, in the passage referred to, talks somewhat complacently about illustrations; he calls them edged tools, and conceives, that in this allusion to infancy, he has turned them upon his antagonist, who does not know how to use them: how truly the reader must judge. Many there are who think he himself has not been very happy in either the construction, or application of his figures, I do not allude to his figures of arithmetic, those remain for an examination, which it will be seen how little able they are to bear; I mean his figures of rhetoric, in the use of which I think he has been as unfortunate as any of his opponents can have been. In his celebrated one of Nature and Nature's feast, to wit, from which the expiring poor are to be expelled, in favour of his privileged guests, he, too, has meddled with "an edged tool," which, while lacerating the feelings of those against

whom it was wielded, has incurably wounded his own cause, or, to change the metaphor, has blackened what he meant to illustrate. He has, I believe, at length, quietly withdrawn it, as well as many other similar passages, and seems quite indignant that it should not be forgotten; and so it should have been, by me at least, but that I see the principle, of which it is an apt exemplification, and indeed a necessary consequence, is retained to the full extent of all its revolting cruelty and insults. I make these observations in consequence of some of his own, in which he has expressed himself with much apparent displeaure on this head; and shall further remark, that, after claiming the merit of having "sufficiently pursued the principle to its consequences," and drawn the "practical inferences" from it[1], any subsequent attempt, for very obvious reasons, at an evasion of those consequences, and concealment of those practical inferences, by "softening conclusions," while tacitly retaining the whole of them, and recanting nothing, are but slight proofs, I think, of that candour to which it would afford me pleasure to admit his claim.

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, Preface, p. v.

CHAPTER VII.

OF THE PRECEDENCE OF POPULATION TO PRODUCTION, AND ITS BENEFICIAL EFFECTS ON THE CHARACTER AND CONDITION OF MANKIND, CONCLUDED.

(1) THE law of nature, which makes labour the condition of existence, or in other words, which establishes the precedence of population to food—is like all her other laws, and contrary to the spirit as well as the letter of the supposititious principle of population, —a law of benevolence. The necessity thus created is the great and sufficient instrument not merely of furnishing, the means of subsistence, but of administering to the enjoyments, securing the health, and enlarging the abundance of mankind. It is the perpetual guardian of the morals, and the preceptor of the intellect of the human race. In accomplishing these sacred purposes, it is the main, the infallible, and indeed the sole, instrument. It has no substitute. It is unnecessary to enlarge on these points, they have been previously alluded to, and will probably be resumed. But, in the mean time, it cannot be too often repeated, at least till the contrary opinion is fully exploded, that the precedence of population to production is not merely to be defended as a truth, but to be asserted as a principle upon which the prosperity of mankind depends. If the food of the inferior animals is placed, by the Supreme Donor, at some distance, as it were, from them, so that one part of them must seek, and the other pursue it,—that of man is still more remote from him, and bestowed upon conditions more strict

and multiplied; hence the exercise not merely of his bodily powers, but of his mental faculties, is rendered necessary to his very existence, nor can the terms be evaded. Even in the least civilized state, when he exists almost as a mere animal of prey, every element that furnishes his food imposes seeming obstacles in the way of his obtaining it. He cannot pursue his prey into the air, or through the waters; while, on his native earth, the beasts of the chase are either too fleet for him to take, or too powerful for him to contend with, single and unaided. Hence, his necessities, in the very lowest stage of his existence, excite and exercise his ingenuity, foresight and perseverance; thence, too, originates that association which constitutes the rudiments of civil society. His faculties, mental and bodily, become thus developed and enlarged; and, if he do not "keep down his numbers to the level of the means of subsistence," which are to be so obtained, he will multiply till he will be carried forwards into a superior state; and, like the hero in the inimitable story referred to in the last chapter, necessity will prompt him to tame and domesticate some of the most useful of the surrounding animals, so as to render his supply of food more sure and abundant; pastoral habits will, therefore, be superinduced upon predatory ones. Here again the intellect becomes more enlarged, and I need not remind the reader, that to this stage of society the sublimest branch of human knowledge is generally traced[1]. But mankind continue to multiply, and necessity therefore dictates further advances. The agricultural arts, the offspring of human intellect, and peculiar to man, succeed; arts which, either in reference to their essential utility, or the elevation of their character,

[1] Pliny, Nat. Hist., l. xviii., c. 25.

the ancients invariably attributed to the tuition of their deities[1]. Pursuing these, every husbandman is necessarily a practical philosopher. He studies the soil, notes the seasons, selects the seed, interchanges the crops, adapts the composts; in a word, by means the most studied, and efforts the most varied, he succeeds in meliorating and multiplying the fruits of the earth, as well as the animals destined for his use, far beyond the first promises of Nature, even in the most fertile soils and the most favoured climates; subduing to his purposes the very impediments which she seems to interpose in his career. Population increases, and elevates him to a higher step in the scale of existence. Horticulture is now added, to which agriculture perhaps will be found at last to be but the precursor; and with the earth thus tilled, still an increasing number are unemployed in the operation; to whom necessity dictates different occupations, the results of which become successively and increasingly essential to mankind thus circumstanced; and which are exchanged for the grosser products of labour,—the means of subsistence. Nor can all these avocations afford employment to an entire population rapidly advancing in civilization. That leisure, therefore, is created, which numbers, similarly urged, must devote to those more intellectual pursuits by which so many have distinguished themselves, and served and benefited their fellow-creatures; purifying their morals, enlarging their knowledge, and exalting their genius. Still, by whomsoever these elevated paths may be opened to human research, necessity is the main cause of their exploration. All the liberal arts owe their origin and consummation to this principle. Nay, the struggle for the distinctions of life,—for independence,

[1] Diodorus Siculus, l. i.

affluence, honour, power,—all may be traced to this original impulse, exciting and operating upon the feelings and the energies of the human mind. The foundation of that social system, the lofty pinnacles of which alone may strike our eyes, is necessity; move this, and the whole fabric sinks into ruin.

(2) So true is the principle I have been endeavouring to establish, that if we may believe the history of mankind in past ages, or trust the evidence of our senses in the present, even the gifts of Nature have far less to do with the production of plenty in any country, than have the effects of industry stimulated by necessity. Thus while, on the one hand, necessity can so conquer the very sterility of nature, as to pour over a country where it perpetually operates, a plenty and profusion, wholly unknown in more favoured regions; so, on the other, it can hardly be denied but that nothing less than a population so large and overflowing as still to call into constant exercise this mighty and efficient instrument of human prosperity, can save a country pre-eminently rich, and spontaneously fertile, from misery and degradation. This is no new observation, much less a mere theoretical one. One of the most experienced observers of the condition of the human race, at least in our days, remarks, that, "Under the torrid zone, where a beneficent hand "seems every where to have scattered the germ of "abundance, man, careless and phlegmatic, expe- "riences periodically a want of nourishment, which "the industry of more civilized nations banishes from "the more sterile regions of the north[1]." I am aware that I have partially touched upon this subject, though, for another purpose, in a preceding chapter; but the principle is so important to the general argu-

[1] Humboldt, Personal Narrative, vol. i., p. 106.

ment, that the repetition may be excused if I still pursue it a little further. The fact, indeed, of a highly prolific soil, inadequately peopled, tending to produce want and misery, is too notorious to need much proof; in addition to Humboldt's testimony, I will, therefore, only appeal to the still more striking evidence of the same truth, afforded by all the accounts of the recently discovered islands in the Pacific Ocean, so scantily peopled in reference to their extent; and the fertility of which is only equalled by the wretchedness and cruelty which it produces[1].

(3) On the other hand it is to be noticed, that, without any of the peculiar advantages of soil or climate, "countries most verging to a full state of population "and production are uniformly observed to be those "which suffer least from an excess of numbers[2];" and, to apply the remark more minutely, different parts of even the same country are perceived to be relatively prosperous or otherwise, in proportion to the numbers of their inhabitants, which, so far from being always regulated according to the varying fertility of the soil, are generally distributed in a contrary proportion[3].

(4) Nor are these remarks novel. Davenant, who seems to have devoted his mind almost exclusively to the development of the principles of national prosperity, lays it down as an incontrovertible maxim, that "where there are but few inhabitants and a large "territory, there is nothing but sloth and poverty; "but when great numbers are confined to a narrow "compass of ground, NECESSITY puts them upon in-

[1] Dwight, Travels in New England, vol. iv., p. 97. Ellis, Tour through Hawaii, pp. 328, 329.
[2] Quarterly Review, vol. xvi., p. 57.
[3] Harte, Essays on Husbandry, p. 76. Bishop Burnet, Observations, &c. Craven, Tour in Naples, &c., p. 146. Polybius, l. xii., Ext. 1. Thucyd., l. i. Von Buch., Travels in Norway, p. 392.

" vention and industry, which, in a nation, are always " recompensed by power and riches[1]." He goes on to give striking examples of these truths, for which I must refer to his frequently quoted work, and shall only confirm his opinions by the authority of a preceding writer, Sir Joshua Child, who truly observes, that " most nations in the civilized world are, more or less, " rich or poor, proportionably to the paucity or plenty " of their people, and not to the sterility or fruitfulness " of their land[2]."

(5) The stimulus created by population preceding production, when thus universally felt, is not only the cause of the production of sufficiency, but of the diffusion of increasing plenty. Almost every individual adding something beyond what is barely necessary to the feast of nature, the general abundance enlarges to profusion; and I would here add an idea, not unworthy of notice, that, as the division of labour has the effect of greatly increasing its total products, so in the economy of society the division and appropriation of food has a direct tendency to multiply plenty, by preventing waste. And of the many reasons why an increasing population is invariably accompanied by increasing plenty, this always constitutes one. In the mean time, as Mr. Malthus represents that even the virtues are like marketable commodities[3], the supply of which will be regulated by the demand, (one of the most astounding maxims ever advanced in the science of ethics,) it is most singular that he should attempt to deny that the production of the necessaries of life should not be so governed. It is quite true, upon commercial and manufacturing principles, that more food will not be produced than is wanted; but that food, when wanted,

[1] Davenant, Ways and Means, pp. 144, 145.

[2] Sir Joshua Child, on Trade, p. 192.

[3] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 67.

may, and therefore will, be produced, is most certain, on any view of the question.

(6) But the necessity created by the precedence of population to food is a source of pleasure, and the guarantee of the health of the human race. On these grounds I shall not dwell, having already alluded to this view of the subject. A word, or two, however, I shall add as to its effects on character. It was remarked, as early as the time of Hippocrates, and by that deep observer of human nature, that the very variation to which the seasons subject mankind in certain regions of the earth, has the effect of elevating their minds, a truth to which the present state of the world seems to bear ample testimony. One of the profoundest writers on geography, (whose death, I regret to say, is recently announced, and, I fear, before the completion of his work,) Malte-Brun, expresses himself most unequivocally upon this point. After having said that "the facility with which food is "procured, obstructs the growth of industry and the "arts[1]," and that in one quarter of the world "fertility "of soil produces famine[2]," he observes, "it is, per- "haps, to the peculiar nature of the soil and climate "of Europe, to its being more intersected, more rug- "ged, and more unproductive than that of Asia and "America, that we owe that presence of mind, and "spirit of bold enterprise and perseverance by which "the natives are, in general, so distinguished[3]." These observations present, in a somewhat different point of view, the same important truth dwelt upon throughout this section, namely, that it is to that necessity created by a population great, in reference to the extent and fertility of the country which it covers, and still

[1] Malte-Brun, Geography, book xxiii., p. 602.
[2] Ibid., Geog., b. lxxxiv., p. 301.
[3] Ibid., b. xxiii., 601.

increasing, that the superiority, thus manifested in intellect as well as prosperity, is undoubtedly to be attributed. So Pliny remarked of Rome; stating, that the multiplication of the human species, and the improvement of the arts, were seen to advance together[1]. In a word, the observation of another ancient writer, Diodorus Siculus, is true, regarding human beings, in every age and country of the world,—"Necessity is the preceptor of man[2]."

(7) That the constant employment, both of the mental and bodily faculties, which this necessity renders imperative on the species, must be favourable to their moral elevation, is agreeable to reason, and, on a reference to various parts of the world where such is the case, presents itself as an undeniable fact; which again receives a melancholy confirmation in the embruted condition of those regions of the globe favoured with the utmost fertility, where the population is so checked, as to bring it down to the level of the means of subsistence to be obtained with little labour and without anxiety. A celebrated divine of the New World has well observed, that "where countries are so fertile as to demand little exertion, man will be idle and vicious. "In the island of Otaheite, where subsistence is furnished almost without human exertion, the inhabitants, in proportion to their capacity, have been, "probably, the most profligate on the globe[3]."

(8) Furthermore, this important instrument of human welfare, Necessity, is, as the very term imports, irresistible in its operation, and infallible as to the effects it produces. And it would afford a theme not unworthy the pen of the profoundest philosopher, as well as of the divine, to shew by what unfailing means

[1] Pliny, Hist. Nat., iii. 5.
[2] Diod. Sic., l. i. c. i.
[3] Dr. Dwight, Travels in New England, vol. iv., p. 97.

and motives the Creator thus continues, increases, and improves his creatures. The impulse of affection, first sexual and then parental, forms the domestic charities; and these again enlarge into the social system, while the necessity thus created is continued, by the still augmenting numbers of those on whose behalf it is in constant operation.

(9) Finally, this necessity is happily perpetual. As the exertions of mankind increase the universal plenty, an enlarging population makes fresh demands upon their intellect and industry; so that, as their numbers accumulate, their prospects are still seen brightening, and their happiness augmenting. That it has been the plain purpose of Divine Providence to reconcile these demands with the purposes of his unbounded benevolence, instead of making them the means of inflicting future and unceasing sufferings on his creatures, it is the purpose of this treatise to prove.

(10) Such seem to be the effects of this great instrument of human prosperity, Necessity. And, far different from a mere theoretical truth, its due consideration is calculated to have a beneficial effect on the human heart as well as conduct. To nations full of people and riches, and far advanced in civilization, and therefore always too prone to undervalue the capacity, and despise the condition of others who may be in more unhappy circumstances, and perhaps of a different complexion, and eager to act upon these impressions to the utmost lengths of tolerated cruelty and oppression, it teaches, amongst other salutary lessons, the humiliating truth of what it is to which they owe their exaltation. On the other hand, it opens a brightening prospect to those who are often condemned as irrecoverably barbarous, as once our ancient ancestors were deemed. It points out the path

of progressive improvement, and prompts those peaceful and civilizing pursuits which can alone lead them to prosperity and happiness. And lastly, it powerfully encourages all those humane efforts which may be made to disseminate those advantages to uncivilized nations, of which they are at present ignorant and insensible. In a word, it tells us this humanizing truth, in the language of one of the noblest authors of antiquity, "how that we ought not to imagine there "is so mighty a difference between man and man, but "that he is the most accomplished who has been re-"gularly trained by necessity through a course of "industry and labour[1]."

(11) The precedence of population to production, then, is not a mere question of abstract knowledge, but one of the utmost moral and practical importance. And it is essential to the interests of mankind, that it should be so recognized, as erroneous views on this subject have been already highly detrimental to the interests of society, and threaten to become fatal to its future prospects of advancement. The belief that human beings have a constant tendency to increase beyond their utmost means of subsistence, and that population must be reduced and kept down to that level, cannot but produce those cruel and disgusting consequences which are already beginning to develope themselves; on the other hand, the thorough conviction that mankind, while obedient to the laws of Nature and of GOD, would only increase in that proportion which should best conduce to their interests and happiness, and that that increase would invariably produce a super-proportion of every thing necessary to their existence, leads to efforts highly favourable to the general welfare. In these opposite views of this

[1] Thucydides, lib. i., 84.

great question, Mr. Malthus and myself are at issue; and I am perfectly willing to appeal to the past history of the human race, as well as to their present condition, as decisive of it. That author has already partially done so in his work under consideration, selecting several countries in Europe, and even making a sort of voyage round the world in order to exhibit in islands, countries, and continents, the principle he espouses, as in active and necessary operation. I shall follow him most minutely in this track, in the sequel; but in the mean time I shall observe, generally, on the subject, that the erroneousness of his principle is, as it appears to me, fully demonstrated by the result of his own inquiries. The most densely peopled nations he has examined, he cannot but acknowledge, are the most prosperous ones; while those, where there are the fewest inhabitants, are, generally speaking, the most wretched. Where there is not one-hundredth part of the population for which Nature has evidently prepared, the inhabitants are supremely miserable; but there they are all intuitive and practical converts to the notion I am opposing—they fully believe that "population presses too hard against the means of subsistence," and are more active than scrupulous in their endeavours to keep it down to the proper "level."

(12) Thus it is that, exactly as this unnatural doctrine practically prevails, mankind are kept in a savage state of existence, or they are reduced to it. In the former case, "there cannot be a clearer demonstration "of any thing," as Locke observes, "than the several "nations of Americans; who are rich in land, and poor "in all the comforts of life; whom Nature, having fur- "nished as liberally as any other people, with the ma- "terials of plenty, *i. e.* a fruitful soil, apt to produce in "abundance what might serve for food, raiment, and

" delight, yet for want of improving it by labour, have " not one-hundredth part of the conveniences we en- " joy. And a king of a large and fruitful territory " there, feeds, lodges, and is clad worse than a day " labourer in England[1]." What can elevate the condition of such but the law of Necessity, which they attempt to evade, enforced by an increasing population?

(13) In proof of the second idea, that men are gradually reduced to barbarism by obeying the dictates of the principle of population now opposed, we need only appeal to the condition of any country upon earth where the inhabitants have been constantly diminishing. As numbers have decreased, wretchedness has invariably augmented. Nor is there any limit to be placed to this retrogression, or any refuge of plenty created by the enlarging void. Personal distress is seen accumulating as the population diminishes; and, if the system of ignorance and selfishness advanced till the last individual of the species, like the first-born, should, to free himself from a rivalry in the favour of Providence, murder his sole remaining brother, Nature would revenge the deed, and consign him to the death of destitution and misery.

(14) View, on the contrary, the progress and effects of the better principle. As men feel themselves co-partners in the bounties of nature, which they see enlarging in proportion to their numbers and necessities, instead of regarding each other as rivals for an insufficient and diminishing share of the means of subsistence, their increase leads them to those combined and harmonious exertions which infallibly issue in plenty and happiness. Then is it that population, if not proscribed and worried down by the Cerberean dogs of this wretched and cruel system, really does press against

[1] Locke, Two Treatises on Government, p. 196.

"the level of the means of subsistence:" and still elevating that level, it continues thus to urge society through advancing stages, till at length the strong and resistless hand of necessity presses the secret spring of human prosperity, and the portals of Providence fly open, and disclose to the enraptured gaze the promised land of contented and rewarded labour,—a land (to use the beautiful phraseology of the East) of corn, and wine, and oil; overspread with flocks and herds, overflowing with plenty, and brightening under the unclouded smile of heaven. There all the rural arts and the pursuits of commerce are seen in a happy and amicable rivalry; till the pastures are clothed with flocks, and the valleys stand thick with corn, while the populous city sparkles to the skies, and the crowded mart resounds with the voice of those whose heroic calling it is to go down to the sea in ships, and occupy their business in the mighty waters. The hill of science meantime is seen swelling from the plain, and hiding its aspiring summits in the mists of heaven; unnumbered votaries, crowding up its steeps, explore from its increasing elevations, still enlarging and brightening prospects in the horizon of futurity. All this is the creation of necessity, or, in other words, the result of increasing numbers pressing against the means of subsistence. But let this necessity be relaxed: the hand of industry is then enfeebled and paralyzed, the useful arts and inventions are at first slighted, then forgotten, and lost; man relapses into that ease and sloth which is natural to him; and for which, He that made him knew there was no adequate remedy, but necessity. The numbers now become redundant, the checks are unleashed and spring upon them, and they are thinned more speedily, indeed, than they were recruited; but at every successive diminution they become more and

more superfluous to each other. The city is gradually depopulated; the mart is deserted, and at length returns to a bare rock, where perhaps a few fishermen build their huts on the foundation of ancient palaces, and spread their nets where once a crowd of princely merchants assembled. Cultivation disappears; the boundless plain now scarcely makes "room" for a few wretched shepherds, who migrate with their scanty flocks across its rude and barren extent; and these again give place to the savage hunter, who resumes once more his primeval haunts of solitary wretchedness. Meantime the smile of Providence has been gradually withdrawn; all has darkened; and the gloom which settles upon the miserable remnant who have survived the very memory of their name and origin, hides them from the notice and curiosity of the human race. All that concerns them, worthy of the attention of mankind, is their ancient history; and this, indeed, affords a striking lesson. It proves that Necessity, created by population, is at once the strength, glory, and safety of every nation on earth, which has yielded to its dictates.

(15) If it be said, that this conclusion addresses itself to the imagination, I answer, that it appeals still more strongly to experience and truth. Exactly such has been the history of many of the fairest regions upon the face of the earth, once crowded with inhabitants, overflowing with plenty, and invested with supreme dominion. Their population was checked, no matter by what means, and history speaks the melancholy consequences. Many of the most ancient and most powerful nations of the earth have experienced this doom. The cradle of man seems to have become his tomb; the ruins of immense cities and "solemn temples" swept, as it

were, with the besom of destruction, and without a possessor, appear like the sepulchres of human greatness; and the curious traveller who would gaze upon them has to bear his provisions over desolate and trackless plains, which once furnished inexhaustible supplies for myriads. Nor have these catastrophes been brought to pass by any miraculous interposition! The means of their destruction, checking the increase of the species, whether by vice or oppression, would produce the same effects on the proudest of the surviving empires. They would produce it in our own; and the voice of history warrants me in saying, that such a course would be irremeable. It seems as though nothing could revive the energies, or restore the prosperity, of a country whose population has long continued to decline; they will sink into inevitable ruin, and it will be reserved for others who feel the inspiring impulse they have quenched, to recolonize their nation, to restore its prolificness, and fill it with inhabitants who shall better fulfil the designs of Almighty Providence.

(16) With some, however, an appeal to the principles of what is called Political Economy will have much more weight than any proofs derived from the principles of common sense, history, or philosophy. I shall, therefore, close this argument by an appeal to the great authority of the modern school, Ricardo. He unequivocally asserts and maintains the precedence of population to production; the miracle is, that it should ever have been denied, or even doubted[1].

[1] Ricardo, Polit. Econ., p. 561.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE PRECEDENCE OF POPULATION TO PRODUCTION, AS A MAIN CAUSE OF PEOPLING THE EARTH; WITH REMARKS ON EMIGRATION.

(1) The precedence of population to food has another most important consequence which yet remains to be pointed out, a result which none who acknowledge the existence of a Deity can refuse to believe was in his contemplation as Creator of the world, and one which it is not conceivable could have been accomplished by any other means, consistently with that order of things which he has been pleased to establish; I mean, the peopling of the earth. I am aware of the difficulties which environ this particular view of the subject, and have, therefore, intentionally separated it from that branch of my argument to which it naturally belongs, in order to give it a distinct consideration; being unwilling to connect what may, perhaps, be denominated conjecture, with absolute certainty. The reader may, therefore, reject the view of the subject which is about to be presented to him, without any detriment to the general argument; for myself, I confess, after having given it no slight attention, consulting, as well as I have been able, the nature, necessities, and history of the human race, it has fixed itself upon my mind as an incontrovertible truth.

(2) Were I called upon to express, in as few terms as possible, and with the most scrupulous attention to their arrangement, the procession of population to that state of universal prosperity and happiness, to

which, it is to be hoped, it is ultimately destined to attain; no form of language appears to me so succinct and comprehensive as that already used by the most ancient, not to say sacred, historian of the universe. It is put into the mouth of the Deity himself, and is, I humbly conceive, as sublimely appropriate as another expression from the same source, which a great heathen writer has selected as an example of the true sublime;—it is the irrevocable benediction of the Deity pronounced on man at his creation. "And God "blessed them, saying, Be fruitful and multiply, and "replenish the earth, and subdue it[1]." That is, marry,—increase,—spread,—cultivate! This is the sacred canon of the system I espouse. The law of Nature is quite as clear as that of inspiration, on this head. And yet there are those who have the audacity to proclaim, that this command is no command; that this blessing is a curse; that the law is abrogated long before its object is fulfilled. Let such cast their eyes upon the world at large, or upon Europe, nay, even on their own country, and tell us if the earth be yet replenished, if it be yet subdued? But it is no wonder that such should inveigh against the Divine principle of human increase and multiplication at the present time, since they have declared it the source of evil from the very "commencement of society."

(3) But to return. This process of Nature, or of Divine Providence, is in striking conformity with the idea already maintained at large, namely, that population precedes production, originating that necessity, of which the ultimate object is to subdue the earth by culture. But, in order to this universal culture, it is obviously necessary that mankind should be distributed as well as multiplied; and this previous and most im-

[1] כבשׁה, subigere terram. See also Locke, Treatise on Government, p. 191.

portant office necessity has to perform. It is the great and efficient cause of replenishing the earth, as well as of subduing it. This it effectuates by means which are more powerful than perceptible, unless we give a near attention to the subject; then, indeed, it will be clearly seen, by what adequate causes the purposes of Providence are accomplished, to which, even the weaknesses and ignorance of human nature (I mean not its wickedness) are rendered finally subservient.

(4) That necessity is the main spring of human labour, with all its great and beneficial results, is undeniable; but that man, however benefited by it, is naturally averse from labour, especially that which is imposed by necessity, is equally true; and I conceive that it was from the mutual operation of these seemingly adverse principles, that mankind were originally scattered, and the earth, consequently, peopled. We have seen the beneficial effects of the law of necessity; and a moment's consideration, I think, will convince us that the principle which seems to oppose, or rather to moderate, its operation, is hardly less essential to the happiness and welfare of the species, especially in the more advanced stages of civilization. The bare necessaries of existence are attainable in the savage state; but those advantages which are created and increased by man, as he advances in civilization, are the consequences of accumulated labour, which can be enjoyed only in a state of comparative ease and independence. This ease and independence are the prize for which so many contend, the quickening motive of so much of that individual labour, of which the united results astonish even those who have contributed to produce them. And if the hope of this excites man to such beneficial exertions, it is rarely indeed that its possession

terminates them; it merely gives them a voluntary and, generally speaking, higher direction; and, by thus abstracting a certain portion of labour from the commoner pursuits of life, it renders the remainder more valuable, and, consequently, becomes its reward, as well as its encouraging example. The benefits, then, of this ease and independence, instead of being confined exclusively to those by whom they are enjoyed, are, in every well-ordered community, felt by every individual who constitutes it.

(5) I would here, for a single moment, direct the reader's attention to the few, but necessary, steps in the divine regimen concerning the progress of mankind. He multiplies them by the law of population; he preserves them in existence, and drives them forwards in the path of civilization by that of necessity; while the principle now under consideration, the desire of ease and independence, allures them to more rapid and further advances in the same career. Necessity, indeed, may be considered as a task-master, rigidly apportioning and demanding their several labours; this as a kind and voluntary co-operator, lightening their toils, and sweetening them by future hopes, (another name for present enjoyment,) till they heighten into pleasures. On the whole, I think it will not be denied, that the tendency of mankind to independence, not to say indolence, is, in the main, highly conducive to the interests of society at large. However this may be, I proceed to shew that, in union with the more powerful stimulus, necessity, this feeling, the existence of which is incontrovertible, has had the effect of dispersing mankind, and peopling the earth with human beings.

(6) Whether man sprung from one common origin or not, will be a subject of further consideration, not

as a topic of divinity, but as one of physiology, naturally bearing on the subject I have here undertaken. In the mean time, as it is equally maintained in the theory I shall endeavour to establish, as well as in that I am opposing, that man, in the first stages of society, is so prolific as to increase rapidly, if not greatly checked in reproduction,—and that he requires subsistence according to his numbers,—if the laws of nature are suffered to prevail, the consequence is obvious—he must spread.

(7) In the commencement of society, (always excluding in such remarks the primitive origination of the species,) mankind appear to us in a condition of degradation; invested, indeed, with all their natural powers and propensities, which form the elements of future civilization, but each existing in a rude and barbarous state; like a wild and ungrafted tree, whose abundant but ungrateful fruits give the promise of what it will produce under successful culture. Hence is it that the propensity for ease and independence, already alluded to, is exhibited in that degenerated form, sloth, to which man is probably more prone than any other animal in creation, and from which nothing willingly rouses him but the call of pleasure. In his necessary exertion, therefore, he combines as much as possible these two propensities, and exists as a hunter; and, so congenial to his nature is this pursuit, that what is originally encountered from necessity is continued for pleasure. Many ancient writers, particularly Cæsar and Tacitus, have forcibly described the sloth and torpor of the savage state, disturbed only at intervals by the necessary pursuit of prey. Between this and the nomadic condition there is but a small distance, indeed they may be considered as almost always partially identified; and it is in this

rather indefinite and uncertain mode of life, in which we find the greatest number of countries, when looking into the earlier annals of mankind, and which still continues, in no inconsiderable part even of the old world, to this hour. This savage and wandering habit of life having partly subsided into the pastoral state, and leading occasionally to some rude attempts at agriculture, but without having fixed and defined the possession of individual property, seems to describe that unsettled and inartificial state of existence in which we first behold the greater part of mankind.

(8) This state necessarily implies a very thin population—especially its first stage, that of hunting. The savage tribes of America fix its maximum, as we have already seen, at one in the square mile. Even in a somewhat more advanced condition, we have sufficient proofs, were proofs necessary to convince us, that what would now be deemed solitudes, were then felt to be over-peopled. The Helvetii, for example, possessing a country which extended beyond the boundaries of modern Switzerland, comprising a portion of southern France, in which, according to Cæsar, (who seems not very prone to underrate the numbers of his vanquished enemies,) there were only about six to the square mile, including women and children[1], wanted room; *angustos se fines habere arbitrabantur*[2], — how inconsiderable a number compared with that which is supported in the same extent of territory, with infinitely greater plenty! Again, Ariovistus demanded a third part of the country of the Sequani, for a colony of twenty-four thousand of his Germans[3]; a district peopled at present with more than ten times that number. Many instances of the same kind might be

[1] Cæsar, Comment., l. i., § 21.
[2] Ibid., l. i, § 2.
[3] Ibid., l. i., § 23.

brought forward, but they are unnecessary; the very nature of the life under consideration implied a scanty and scattered population.

(9) Such a population, however, beyond all others, ould retain their habits with the utmost tenacity; wh ch, combined with that ignorance of agriculture which was only gradually removed, and so recently, as to be made a matter of authentic history in every country, conspired to further the designs of the Creator. Mankind, as they multiplied, would, under these circumstances, spread themselves over a large surface of country; unoccupied districts would soon have to be sought, at great and lengthening distances, or the inhabitants of nearer ones dispossessed, and pushed onward. The ties of kindred, which are far from being weak, even amongst the least civilized; but, more especially, mutual necessity, whether for purposes of defence or aggression, would induce them to move in bodies; which, in all the confusion inseparable from such wide and constant migrations, would be kept distinct by the diversity of languages, so as to form separate bonds of union; not only planting, but preserving, in their several boundaries, different nations. Thus, Usher supposes the confusion of tongues was intended for the very purpose of distributing the human species[1]; at all events, it has contributed to that end, and has given us something like a clue by which to unravel the otherwise inextricable confusion, which the incessant movements of the early population of the earth have introduced into the history of the human race.

(10) Had mankind continued rivetted to what, perhaps, may be called the birth-place of the species, the banks of the Euphrates, concerning the unrivalled

[1] Usher, Annals, p. 4.

fertility of which Herodotus delivers himself so emphatically[1], and which, as a profound modern writer has observed, profane history, from its earliest dawn, presents to us as overflowing with numbers,—they must, as they continued to multiply, have crowded into populous cities, or settled down to a more laborious and minute cultivation of the surrounding luxuriant plains: in which case, none, I think, will contend, that the human race would have been so greatly multiplied, or widely dispersed, in so short a period, as the earliest records of their history represent them to have been. Indeed, I shall shew in the sequel, that, unless human nature has since then undergone a physical change, they could not have increased so rapidly, if at all. But the dispersion of mankind took place, to which allusion has been already made; and there were Nimrods in those days, as well as in our own, whose propensities were made subservient to the designs of Providence. Impatient, perhaps, of restraint, and disdainful of drudgery, they deserted their native seats, and the arts of civilization together, and dispersed themselves in every direction. "They mostly "found countries overgrown with wood, and inhabited "only by beasts. Hunting was their ready resource "for a livelihood: arms their first necessaries. Their "life was thus spent in action. They spread far; had "few neighbours, and with those few, little inter-"course. Such people were inevitably barbarians; "BUT THEY WOULD, MUCH SOONER THAN MORE CIVI-"LIZED PEOPLE, GIVE INHABITANTS TO EVERY PART "OF THE GLOBE[2]."

(11) Except, therefore, in some favoured districts, which had early attracted, and continued to retain, a crowded population, with all the superiority with

[1] Herodotus, Clio. § 193. [2] Mitford, Greece, vol. i., p. 7.

which it is ever connected, mankind long continued migratory; and by the impulses of nature to which we have alluded, the love of ease and independence, and aversion from habitual and necessary labour, they were pushed through every surrounding region of the world, settling where they could find seats in which to indulge their inveterate habits, and still exist. To this condition, which all history concurs in representing as once nearly universal, the reader's most particular attention is called, as that whence must be measured those astonishing advances which the civilized world has made in every valuable and elevated pursuit; a state from which different nations and communities have emerged at earlier or later periods, just as population has been allowed to precede production; and one in which some yet remain, and will continue so to do, while the checks are employed to keep down the existing numbers "to the level of the food," or, in other words, to perpetuate barbarism and misery.

(12) The history of the human species may then be appealed to, in proof that the precedence of population to food has been the chief means, not merely of improving and civilizing, but of peopling the world. The law of population, indeed, multiplied, but this law co-operating, as we have seen, with the law of necessity, "scattered them abroad upon the face of the earth[1]:" and history, sacred or profane, in its early stages, is little more than a rapid enumeration of the migrations of different families of the human race, from that of their first parents, of whom the poet sings,

> "The world was all before them, where to choose
> Their place of rest."

Hence, from the centre of their first dispersion, the banks of the Euphrates, numerous tribes diverged in

[1] Genesis xi. 9.

every direction, each united together, as well as kept distinct from others, by the almost insuperable barrier of a different dialect, which was the cause, also, of that continued separation, whence, probably, grew those divers manners and customs which become the more strikingly distinguishable the more remote they are found from that ancient place and period. These bodies of mankind, the laws of Nature, if not violently withstood, would continue to increase; so that the offspring tribes would soon become parent ones, sending forth, in their turn, fresh colonies. Moving bodies of men, therefore, proceeding from different points at once, would begin to intersect each other's line of march, and interfere with each other's progress; and neighbouring settlements would be founded, not merely on the same continents, but in the same islands, consisting of different tribes of mankind, of a language and origin unknown to each other. Thus was it that the different countries became gradually overspread and possessed; some of them as fully, perhaps, as their barbarous mode of existence, and inveterate habits, would bear. It was at this period the arts of agriculture, whether, as the ancients supposed[1], of Divine institution, or taught by necessity, became generally known and practised[2]; a time, as opportune for the Ancient world, as that of the discovery of the loadstone was for the New. Their numbers continued to multiply, and precede the produce of the earth; and only two alternatives were presented to their choice, either to obey the law of necessity, in conformity with the principles of mercy and justice, and thus preserve their population, and sustain it, by adding the labours of cultivation to those of the chase; or, on the other hand, regardless of those principles, either to check their own increase,

[1] Diod. Sic., l. v., p. 206. [2] Thucydides, l. i., c. 5.

in order to keep down their numbers to the level of their food, or to destroy the possessors of the surrounding tracts, for the purpose of raising that level to their increased numbers. Those that made the latter choice remained in a state of barbarism inseparable from such a determination, of which the world is not without melancholy examples at the present period, on an extended scale, and in some of its most fertile regions. Those, on the other hand, that obeyed the voice of Nature and of GOD, and pursued the better course, or that were, by a fortunate compulsion, obliged to do so, found themselves conducted through advancing degrees of civilization to prosperity and happiness; their numbers still multiplying, and adding, at every augmentation, fresh stores of abundance, as well as new accessions of moral and intellectual wealth. Limited to their own territory, they found it to be the confines of prosperity. That salient source of all human welfare, individual or national, Population, no longer pouring itself forth into some distant void, now flowed back upon the "shallows and the miseries" which it had previously left exposed, every refluent wave expanding and deepening, not the ocean of vitality merely, but the abyss of Divine bounty; the depth and breadth of either of which, we presume to think, it is given to no mortal to fathom or explore. "The river of GOD is full!"

(13) On the whole, then, I think it abundantly clear, that the precedence of population to food, combined with those principles of our nature which have been the subject of this inquiry, have been the prime cause of dispersing inhabitants throughout the earth; in effectuating this great purpose, it is plain that the Supreme Arbiter of events has overruled the weakness and ignorance of mankind, and made

them subservient to his designs. At all events, nothing can be more certain than that the great work of planting the nations was not performed when the earth was full of inhabitants, but, on the contrary, when it was comparatively void; not by nations whose numbers were the largest, but the fewest and most scattered: in a word, not by those who had a real necessity to migrate, but whose ignorance allowed them so to suppose, and whose barbarism made them fit instruments for the purpose, rendering them insensible of regrets or solicitudes either respecting the seats they left, or those to which chance directed their course. It was a work performed in ages of ignorance, and in times of strife and suffering, though the results have been so transcendently great and happy. Those engaged in it might, like the husbandman, go forth weeping, bearing precious seed, but a posterity has come which sees the copious sheaves, and the universe rejoices in the glorious harvest.

(14) Finally, I observe that, as the population of the nations has increased, the necessity of these wanderings has diminished. I speak thus, advisedly, and in defiance of the information, or, I would rather say, the more formidable ignorance, of all the migration committees upon earth. I do not mean to contend but that many soul-stirring occasions, many powerful impulses may still carry numbers to distant climes, even to the "farthest verge of the green earth, to rivers unknown to song;" or that such impulses may not be commissioned to effect some peculiar and important purposes of Divine Providence: but I deny, in behalf of a prolific but imperfectly cultivated country;—I deny, in behalf of those feelings which endear to a grateful population their native seats;—I deny, in behalf of the honour and interests of the empire; and, in the name of truth

itself, that general deportations of our countrymen, by whomsoever contemplated, are necessary,—that they are otherwise than unnatural in themselves, and cruel in their consequences. To these topics I shall again advert, if time and space suffice. In the meantime, if we follow the guidance of nature, taking with us the lights of human history, we shall doubtless arrive at safe conclusions. We shall find that the main instrument in these colonizing migrations was barbarism; their period,—those "times of ignorance which GOD winked at," and rendered subservient to his benevolent purposes: those purposes accomplished, that veil of ignorance which seemed as effectually to conceal the inexhaustible bounties of Providence from their benighted eyes, as it does from those of some of our political economists, was drawn aside, and the bosom of Nature, in all its loveliness and sufficiency, was bared to all her children.

(15) It has been already said, and, perhaps, too often repeated, that as human beings have increased, their condition has been ameliorated; I must, however, add, that under these more auspicious circumstances, the ties of kindred and social affection, and of attachment to country so dear to all generous minds, have become strengthened, and rooted in the very fibres of the heart; to tear them rudely thence would be to leave an incurable wound, or at least an aching void, which no after-scenes of life could fill, and least of all such as those the expatriated have generally to encounter. But in the Divine economy, no such remedy is contemplated, and the desire of wandering, and the necessity for it, except under the pressure of perverse mismanagement, gradually cease together.

(16) The subject of Emigration was intended to be treated more distinctly, and somewhat at large,

in the present work; but on further consideration it seems unnecessary to do so. The principle of population opposed, and that meant to be established, equally reject it; either as a proper or an efficacious means of adjusting the numbers of mankind to their subsistence. I will not contend, indeed, but that motives of the most praiseworthy kind, and leading often to the happiest consequences, result from it when individually and voluntarily undertaken; but whenever it is effectuated upon a large scale, and more especially, conducted in a manner at all compulsory, (always excepting the case where it is made a penal infliction,) I cannot but think it highly objectionable. It almost always then implies tyranny and oppression in the country left, and as generally leads to injustice and cruelty in that to which it is directed. Its efforts have far oftener occasioned the diminution and dispossession of the original and rightful inhabitants, (not to say their extirpation,) than the amelioration of their condition, and the consequent increase of their numbers; which it cannot be doubted would have speedily sufficed to occupy their own territory, had they been civilized instead of subdued and oppressed.

(17) Much might be added regarding the sufferings which have always ensued whenever any considerable deportation of this nature has taken place. Much also concerning the doubts which exist in all reasonable minds, whether the countries and climates to which they are transplanted will be ultimately found favourable to the new inhabitants; doubts which it is possible a few more generations may solve little to the satisfaction of those most concerned. Waiving, however, these considerations entirely,—it only needs to be added, that each of the systems now placed before the reader equally rejects emigration as the na-

tural or proper resource of nations. The principle of superfecundity holds, that the vacuum thus occasioned would be speedily supplied, but certainly by a less vigorous or valuable class of society; the national disgrace and expense of such attempts would, therefore, be repaid, as they deserve, by a positive and direct loss. On the other hand, the law of population unfolded in this treatise, shews these national excisions to be unnecessary and mischievous. No one, however, can possibly contend that emigration can be more than a temporary expedient, inasmuch as the countries which receive it will themselves be replenished, and, according to the prevalent theory, with a rapidity which will allow but of a very short period for such accessions. The remedy, therefore, would entirely fail when the disease had become the most distressing and inveterate. They have studied but very slightly the volume of Nature, or at least comprehended its import very imperfectly, who imagine that, in her most momentous laws and operations, she is governed by temporary expediency.

(18) But to return. The precedence of population to food in the darker ages of the world has evidently been the main cause of planting the nations; and, since mankind have become more settled and numerous, of civilizing them: and were it possible for our anti-populationists to reverse this principle, and cause the food of mankind to precede their wants, and to govern their numbers; the world would again become gradually depopulated, and sink into the barbarism from which it has been happily rescued.

CHAPTER IX.

OF THE CHECKS TO POPULATION, ENUNCIATED IN THE PREVAILING THEORY.—WAR.

(1) I PROCEED now to the consideration of one of the most important and essential branches of the argument, namely, those checks to population which occupy so large a space, and act so conspicuous a part, in the theory under examination, since they have to reconcile its adverse ratios to each other, and to shew that their united effects harmonize with the history and condition of the human race. How vain the attempt, though made at the expense of outraging the best feelings and most sacred principles of mankind, remains to be shewn. And I cannot but assert, at the very threshold of the argument, that a theory, however plausible, which, to the plain apprehension of the many (who have attained to no slight perception of moral truth and feeling), arraigns the good providence of GOD as insufficient to supply the wants of his creatures, if they obey, conformably to his own institutions, the most imperative laws of nature; and which, in order to rectify the error, announces a system of expedients, that is a still greater insult upon his essential perfections, has but a slender chance of being otherwise than as false in principle, as it is evidently pernicious in its consequences.

(2) These checks, however multiplied in the detail, are resolved into three distinct heads, Vice, Misery, and Moral Restraint. Far more insatiable and loath-

some than the triple-mouthed dog at the gate of Hell, this Cerberus stands at the portal of existence, and demands a perpetual sacrifice of human victims; but this consists, we are informed, of those "redundant numbers," which are consequently to be devoted on behalf of the whole. Wealth has a sop placed in its hands, consecrated by this system,—"a patent for food," and is therefore to escape scathless: defenceless poverty is the appointed victim. I shall not particularize the horns of this miscreated being; they are represented as numerous, but the catalogue is too disgusting to be unnecessarily repeated, they belong to their respective heads, and are worthy of them. If I am fortunate enough to destroy the pest, it will not be by aiming at its extremities. At first, indeed, this "delicate monster[1]" shewed only two fronts, vice and misery; a third, however, was subsequently put forth, to recommend, under a more comely mask, the whole system, and was called "moral restraint," a name which seems invented as a perfect specimen of irony: but the slightest reflection will resolve this into the first of these ancient and legitimate checks, or rather into both the former.

> "The force of nature could no farther go,
> To form a third, are joined the other two."

The last check, however, being, as its author confesses, an after-thought with himself[2], it shall be made a matter of subsequent consideration in this work.

(3) Let us then first examine the nature and effects of the two original, and what are still dignified by the appellation of "direct checks,"—vice and misery. In doing this, it is unnecessary to follow minutely the several ramifications of the system, the question having to

[1] Shakspeare, Tempest. [2] Malthus, Essay on Population, preface, vii.

be determined on general principles. It will abundantly suffice to consider, under these heads, vice and misery, which are to adjust our numbers to our food, those "correctives of the redundant numbers of mankind," as they are called, war, pestilence, and famine, under one or other of which, most of those calamities, paraded through the system under consideration, may be properly enough classed. War, the ancient leader and champion of the whole, may be allowed to include in his sweeping murders, that infanticide, which the author, so frequently under notice, says, "appears to to be very particularly calculated to answer the end" in view[1], as well as all those cruelties which take away or abridge the duration of human life; and if you please, that self-immolation, which, however, is usually occasioned by intemperance, profligacy, or pride—rarely by actual want. Pestilence may muster, in its spreading devastations, all those diseases which are supposed to be induced by a crowded population; and famine, all that abject poverty which is fatal to human life. The operation of these various checks, severally or combined, in by far the greatest, but the worst peopled, part of the world, is thus emphatically described by the author I am rebutting. "When "population," says he, "has increased nearly to the "utmost limits of food, all the preventive and positive "checks will naturally operate with increased force. "Vicious habits with regard to the sex will be more "general; the exposing of children more frequent; and "both the probability and fatality of wars and epide- "mics will be considerably greater, and these causes "will probably continue to operate, till the population "is sunk below the level of the food, and then the return "to comparative plenty will again produce an in-

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 164.

" crease, and, after a certain period, its further progress " will be again checked by the same causes[1]." The operation of these checks in civilized life (if, under these views of human nature, any such state exist) is more diffusively explained, but in terms still more abhorrent to one's feelings, such as (in addition to the foregoing) " promiscuous intercourse, unnatural pas- " sions, violations of the marriage bed, and impro- " per arts to conceal the consequences of irregular con- " nexions[2]." These last are a sufficient specimen of the preventive checks, as they are called, which, with the positive ones, of a very similar nature, it is declared, are " some of them in constant operation in every country, with more or less force[3];" and " yet, " notwithstanding their general prevalence," he adds, " there are few states in which there is not a constant " effort in the population to increase beyond the means " of subsistence[4]." The disease of Nature is, therefore, it seems, incurable, notwithstanding the loathsome medicine which is to be perpetually administered.

(4) And is this the principle, then, which, as men and as Christians, we are required to believe is that by which a Being of infinite wisdom, purity, and benevolence regulates his offspring? God forbid! Which is the Deity, even in the dæmonology of paganism, (creation, as it was, of the impure and inhuman imaginations of the heathen world,) whether placed in Hell or Heaven, on whom so cruel and corrupt a system could be filiated?

(5) But the evidence which religion, natural and revealed, gives against this daring and disgusting system, constitutes a separate argument: it will, therefore, be only barely remarked here, that the wisdom of

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 15.
[2] Ibid., p. 11.
[3] Ibid., p. 12.
[4] Ibid., p. 12.

the Supreme Being is as deeply implicated in the suppositions it involves, as his power and goodness. These checks are not calculated to answer the end, which they are brought forward, in this theory, to accomplish, namely, the adjusting of the numbers of mankind to their food, nor have they ever done so, at least so the facts recorded in history instruct us. A very slight examination, and but little consideration of the proofs adduced in its favour, will suffice to shew us, that they are not generated by the assumed redundancy, which they are represented as repressing;—that they act the most vigorously, when they are obviously the least wanted; that, on the other hand, when, as it should seem, they ought to be the most efficient, they operate the least, if indeed at all. In a word, the greatest havoc committed by these "positive checks," as they are called, is when the population is the thinnest; as it increases, they continue to diminish their efforts, till it has become greatly enlarged, when they are still more slight and intermitted; and, in many happy instances, they almost entirely cease. The system, therefore, embodies a tissue of contradictions and absurdities, which nothing can heighten, except the belief of its being that of Nature and Providence.

(6) It is not, however, by any means the purpose of this treatise to deny the existence of these checks; but to shew that the principle of population never necessarily called them into existence, or required their interference in adjusting its numbers to the means of subsistence; and that these scourges of the human race have always had the effect of aggravating, if not of creating, the very sufferings they are supposed by the theory in question to remedy. I

shall consider these checks in something like the order in which they are announced.

(7) First, then, in regard to that "great pest of the human race," long the first and most fatal check to their increase,—war. Perhaps it will be necessary to enter, primarily, into a consideration of its principal causes; referring the examination of its effects to a subsequent view of the subject, in which the influence of an increasing population on the condition of mankind will be placed under review, especially in those times and countries appealed to for a contrary purpose.

(8) The writer of the Essay on Population having, as he supposes, in his first five pages, established the principle of human increase, which he asserts to be superior to that of the means of subsistence, and even to the room which is provided for it, in the overwhelming disproportion already explained, states this to be the simple cause of the atrocities we are about to mention[1]. Granting him his premises, the conclusions, however "harsh," at which he has arrived, are incontrovertible. War, therefore, with all its "prodigious waste of human life, is occasioned by a "perpetual struggle for room and food[2]."

(9) Now in all the wars which have desolated the earth, and afflicted the human race, since their history has been known; and they have been so numerous and continued, as to have caused a writer, often referred to on this point, to represent a state of warfare as that of Nature[3] (it is unquestionably that of uncivilized nature), it may be affirmed, that not one in one thousand of them has ever been entered into, even under the colourable pretext of "a struggle for room

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 73. [2] Ibid., p. 67. [3] Hobbes.

and food;" and, what is more to the purpose, there has not been one solitary instance, in which such a pretence would have been valid. If, instead of Ambition, Revenge, Malice, Covetousness, Wantonness, and Cruelty, being the causes of these breaches of the peace of GOD, they were all in reality occasioned by want of food, or, in other words, dictated by necessity, a reasonable excuse, if not an entire justification, on the plain principle of self-preservation, is at once set up for these multitudinous murders. In vain an inspired writer tells us that wars and fightings proceed from the unreasonable and corrupt desires of our nature[1], and innumerable authorities, inspired by truth itself, assure us of the same deplorable fact; the system which is now to dictate to the philosophy and philanthropy of the age, informs us, that their "simple cause is the superiority "of the power of population to the means of subsist-"ence[2]."

(10) It is so palpably plain, however, that wars have been constantly waged without even the shadow of such a sanction, that it seems almost unnecessary to pursue this branch of the discussion: this author, nevertheless, adduces numerous instances which, he conceives, prove his position; a few of these shall, therefore, be examined, on which I would be well content to rest the whole argument, which indeed they very fairly exemplify.

(11) In the commencement of one of his chapters, he asserts, that a history of the early migrations of mankind "would illustrate, in a striking manner, the con-"stant tendency in the human race to increase beyond "the means of subsistence[3]," and speaks of the strong goad of necessity as occasioning them; in which I should have agreed with him, had he included those equally

[1] St. James, Epistle, ch. iv., v. 1, 2.
[2] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 75.
[3] Ibid., p. 65.

strong and co-operating causes developed in my preceding chapter. He proceeds to exemplify his meaning by what he again calls a "striking illustration," and striking indeed it is in its application, as Lord Bacon remarks; who, it is somewhat singular, has observed on the very same passage of Sacred History, brought forward, it appears, in his time, for a very similar purpose, "Certainly I should never have brought that example on that side[1]." It is that strife or war recorded in the Old Testament, between the herdsmen of Abram and Lot[2]. This, I say, he thinks "a striking illustration of that great spring of action which "drove the less fortunate inhabitants of the globe, "yielding to irresistible pressure, to seek a scanty "subsistence in the burning deserts of Asia and "Africa, and in the frozen regions of Siberia and "North America[3]," and which he ought, in fairness, to have added, doomed them to encounter, in those inhospitable regions and burning deserts which they made their asylum, the malignant principle from which they fled, which, according to this theory, is gifted with an ubiquity refused by our divines to the Arch-enemy of mankind.

(12) In direct opposition to this, I maintain that the instance adduced is a striking illustration of a principle directly contrary to that which the writer intends to support. It furnishes not only a negative, but a positive proof, that the means of human subsistence, when properly developed, have a constant tendency to increase beyond the primary wants of the human race. It was not the "pressing necessities" of the households of Lot and Abram that occasioned this contest, but superfluous wealth, which, as a heathen writer observed long ago, had been "the cause of war through

[1] Bacon, Works, vol. iii., p. 293.
[2] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 65.
[3] Ibid., pp. 65, 66.

all ages and countries of the world[1];" and it is still, in a great plurality of cases, the source of human quarrels and contentions, whether domestic or national. Abram was "very rich in cattle," as well as in silver and gold; Lot also had flocks and herds and tents, so that, altogether, "the land was not able to bear them." Why? Because it was insufficient to provide them with subsistence? No! but because "their substance was very great." It had increased upon them, after having abundantly satisfied their necessities. Hence there was strife between the herdsmen. To call this a struggle for "room and food" is as gross a perversion of the meaning of words as can be conceived; it was the rivalry of exorbitant wealth. Even before the agricultural arts prevailed to any material extent, and when pastoral pursuits, requiring so large an extent of country, occupied them almost exclusively, the land was still nearly unoccupied. "Is not the whole land "before thee?" said the generous Patriarch to his more selfish kinsman, leaving him the choice; when "Lot "lifted up his eyes and beheld all the plain of Jordan, "even as the garden of the Lord, like the land of "Egypt as thou comest unto Zoar," and chose that tract as his future residence, while Abram dwelt in the more sterile region of Canaan. Thus the families of the two brethren struggled, as Mr. Malthus represents it, for room and food, in a country which afterwards sustained, in plenty and happiness, millions of their descendants, when the hand of necessity, that mighty and unfailing means of human prosperity, already so much adverted to, had opened the secret and inexhaustible springs of abundance; and the strife ceased as the fraternal families increased and multiplied.

(13) Certainly, then, this instance proves directly

[1] Justin, l. ii., c. 2.

the reverse of what it was intended to prove: it furnishes, perhaps, as apt and forcible an illustration of a contrary principle of population as can be conceived. It overturns the ratios so often mentioned, not only as it respects the magnitude of the absurdities they involve, but the very principle on which they are founded, and shews that human industry, when properly developed, has a constant tendency to increase the means of subsistence beyond the natural increase of human beings when entirely unchecked. It forcibly exhibits a fact we are about to prove from profane history, that war, generally speaking, does not originate in want, but rather in those bad passions of mankind which wealth and power too often engender: and finally, it instructs us, by the event, of the disastrous consequences of a hostile rivalry, or a forcible separation of the human family. "We see what followed of it," says Lord Bacon; "how that this separation, *ad dextram, et ad* " *sinistram*, caused the miserable captivity of one bro- " ther, and the dangerous, though prosperous, war of " the other, for his rescue and recovery[1]."

(14) And this allusion of Lord Bacon reminds us of the earliest war, properly so called, upon record; unless we may so call the murderous attack of Cain; which, at all events, was no struggle for room or food, though quite as much so as most of those outrages which, from that fatal hour, to the present moment, have stained the annals of mankind. I now refer to the war of the same noble Patriarch, Abram, with the tyrant Chedorlaomer, not only as the first, at least upon record, but as originating in a cause more righteous, and conducted to its conclusion with a magnanimity and heroism greater than perhaps any since mentioned in the universal page of history; exhibiting "the friend

[1] Bacon, Works, vol. iii., p. 298.

of GOD," and, consequently, of man, in the strange attitude of a warrior and a victor! But this, the earliest campaign of all antiquity, is not alluded to by our author, and for a reason obvious enough; for though uniting, either on one side or the other, almost all the motives that have ever mingled in these bloody contests, and exhibiting so fully, though succinctly, most of the consequences with which they are attended, no human ingenuity could reconcile any portion of its history to the supposition of its being a struggle for room and food. Chedorlaomer had enslaved the surrounding nations; they rebelled; he proceeded against them, and conquered. But he did not extirpate the vanquished to spread his own people over the conquered countries; on the contrary, he carried their mouths (as the Chinese express themselves) with him to his own; and, consequently, he could not have warred from a want of room or food. Lot, the kinsman and ally of Abram, and, no doubt, innocent of aggression, was one of the captives; otherwise the latter might not, perhaps, have been so prompt to interfere in the doubtful disputes of the neighbouring heathen. But he no sooner hears, than prudently confederating with his peaceful neighbours, he arms his own household, and, planning his method of attack, he divides them. Superior to the contemptible superstition of those who, in after times, deemed all but themselves barbarians, he fell upon the enemy by night; and, still more unlike their cruelty, though he smote and pursued them till he had recovered all the spoil, the women also and the people, and especially his brother Lot and his goods, there is no intimation that he followed up the victory a step farther, or shed an additional drop of blood; much less did he assume what were afterwards called "the rights of con-

quest," in seizing their territory or enslaving a soul of them. Nor did he, like the heathen of succeeding times, sacrifice any portion of the bloody spoils of war to his purer Deity; but, through his Priest, who met and refreshed him after his achievement, he devoted a part of his own substance in solemn and grateful memorial to his GOD! refusing to receive, either as a principal or a mercenary, any share of the spoils he had recovered from those he had liberated: he was not, however, unmindful of the claims of those who had confederated with him. As to himself, "he had lift "up his hand to the Most High GOD, the possessor "of heaven and earth, that he would not take from a "thread to a shoe latchet"—as it appears that, amidst all those sublimer motives by which this wonderful human being seemed always to be inspired, he was not regardless of that fair fame to which none but debased minds are insensible: "Lest," said the disinterested and noble-hearted Patriarch, "they should say, I have made Abram rich!" So much for this godlike hero; and the nations might beat their swords into ploughshares, if they would consent to wait an equal justification, before they again joined in their crusades against human existence.

(15) I hope few will feel that this digression demands an apology; if it should, I would observe, that Mr. Malthus himself has led me into it, by a reference to the same book and to the same principal characters, with what effect is left to the reader's judgment. I shall now quit the sacred annals, and follow this author into profane history; in which, I think, it will appear as plain as it does from that passage in the sacred books with which we have both commenced, that those wars which have so deeply disfigured its pages and disgraced mankind,

have not originated in a deficiency of room or food; but, on the contrary, and to express myself in the language of Polybius, "in the abundance of all necessa- "ries, exceeding the demands of Nature[1]." "It is "the lust of wealth," as the same author continues to observe, instancing the Cretans in exemplification of his assertion, "which gives birth continually to private "contests and public dissensions and divisions, produc- "ing murders and intestine wars[2]"—a view of the subject, which the philosophy as well as the history of human nature abundantly confirms.

(16) But, supposing in this appeal we were occasionally to find a horde of barbarians, who to excuse their plundering irruptions into a fairer region, complained that themselves and their families had not a square mile each whereon to subsist; or nations, professing something like civilization, cursing their fate and the sterility of their soil, because they could not subsist their numbers in habits of inveterate sloth, or by expatiating in the chase only; knowing, as we now do, that the very same districts would then have sustained ten times their numbers, in at least a ten-fold state of plenty, because they have since done, and still continue to do so; are we to take their recorded murmurings as a proof of the evil of the principle of population, against the experience of after-ages, and even the evidence of our own senses? GOD forbid! The plea of the sluggard for his wretchedness, or of the highwayman and assassin for their crimes, would be valid, were theirs admitted to be just.

(17) But before I give a further consideration to the subject, I would make one important observation, and it is this:—Mr. Malthus, in the discussion into which I am about to follow him, has adroitly, and most completely, changed his ground. His first five

[1] Polybius, l. vi., ex. 3. [2] Ibid.

pages, in which he thinks his theory demonstrated, exhibit the increase of the human race, contrasted with that of their utmost possible means of subsistence: here he refers to the actual production of food, which is totally and essentially different to the potential produce, which last is the sole point at issue; at least, the only one which I should deem it worth while to spend a single word about. And, moreover, I must assert, most distinctly, and I trust it will be clearly recollected throughout, that it is not because I doubt population having been checked, or dispute its having been checked by the means enumerated, that I engage in this controversy; the fact has been too obvious, in every age of the world to be denied; but the dispute is this:—whether, at any period of its history, these checks have been necessary, and whether they have increased the plenty and promoted the prosperity of the human race. The assumption of this necessity, is the foundation on which his entire theory is erected; and, whether insinuated by indirect allusions, or asserted in plain terms, it is always implied. On the contrary, it is my purpose to shew that these checks, and especially the principal one, War, have been the means of diminishing the natural plenty which mankind would otherwise have enjoyed; of keeping them in barbarism, or of reducing them to that state. And in those ages and countries more especially, to which the author under consideration has referred us, mankind have been so thinned by them, and their natural increase diminished so greatly, that they could not, even themselves, with the slightest semblance of truth, make the plea which he suggests, namely, a want of room and food; to the struggle for which, he attributes most of those wars that so long afflicted and desolated many of the fairest regions of the globe.

(18) Let us inquire then, whether we are warranted

by profane history, in describing that greatest pest of human beings, war, as a struggle for room and food. In pursuing this subject, I shall not pay much attention either to chronological or geographical connexion, but meet it by facts, in the order in which they present themselves to my recollection.

(19) Ancient Scythia was probably possessed by some of the earliest tribes of the human family[1], and sent forth in succession those numerous bands which in after times emerged to notice in various parts of the old world, and, as it is now generally believed, even in the new[2], under a variety of names, but still preserving very unequivocal marks of their original identity. But these ancient migrations were no struggle for room; the Scythians then were, and still are, a wandering race, and that by choice, not from necessity. They never yet adequately possessed even their own country. The most ancient profane historian extant, corroborated by subsequent ones, informs us, that they did not, with the exception of certain tribes[3], cultivate the ground[4], which he describes as excellent[5]; but led a pastoral and nomadic life[6]; whole nations of them, indeed, subsisting entirely by the chace[7]; that the rest were supplied, generally, by their cattle[8]; and not by agriculture: and that, without towns or fortified places, they made their constant abode their waggons[9]: in which fact he is confirmed by Hippocrates[10]. And, notwithstanding these habits of existence must have spread them over a vast tract of

[1] Justin, l. ii., c. 1. "Scytharum gens "semper antiquissima." "In Scythia "Saga renatum esse mortale genus."—Portius Cato.

[2] Beloe, Trans. of Herod., vol. ii., p. 419, note.

[3] Herodotus, Melpom., § 52.

[4] Ibid, Melpom., § 2. Justin, l. ii., c. 2.

[5] Herodotus, Melpom., § 23, 53.

[6] Ibid., Melpom., § 46, 2. Justin, l. ii., c. 2.

[7] Ibid., Melpom., § 22.

[8] Ibid., Melpom., § 46. Justin, l. ii. c. 2.

[9] Ibid., Melpom. Justin, lib. ii., c. 2.

[10] Hippocrates, De Aere, Locis, et Aquis, § iii., p. 292, l. 48.

country, in proportion to their numbers; still he represents much of their immense territories as wholly uninhabited[1]. I shall lastly remark, that he describes them as "possessing the greatest abundance[2]." He mentions the wars of this singular race at considerable length, and develops the causes and consequences of them[3]; but it is needless to add, that a struggle for room or food was too absurd a supposition to be admitted amongst the number of the motives to hostility which were constantly exciting this restless race; nor did it ever become one. Centuries after, their paternal tribes are described by Horace as still in a similar state;

"Campestres melius Scythæ
Quorum plaustra vagas rite trahunt domos[4];"

Nor have they materially varied from this state of life, to the present moment. "In every age," says Gibbon, "the immense plains of Scythia, or Tartary, have "been inhabited by vagrant tribes of hunters or shep- "herds, whose indolence refuses to cultivate the earth, "and whose restless spirit disdains the confinement "of a sedentary life[5]." Mitford mentions them as a race whose circumstances and manners have been a preserved unaltered through hundreds of generations. In this respect, he says, "the people of that vast "country, called Scythia by the Greeks, and by the "moderns, Tartary, are particularly remarkable. The "description which Justin, after Trogus Pompeius, "gives of the Scythians, is equally just, as far as our "knowledge goes, for all former and all succeeding "ages. They wander over, rather than possess, a "country of immense extent. Exercising no tillage,

[1] Herodotus, Melpom., § 17, 18, 20, 22, 40, 54.
[2] Ibid., Melpom., § 61.
[3] Ibid., Melpom., § 1; Clio, § 73, 104, 105, 106; Melpom., § 1; Erato, § 40, &c.
[4] Horace, Carm., l. iii. 25.
[5] Gibbon, Decline and Fall.

"they claim no property in land; they hold in ab-
"horrence and scorn the confinement of a fixed habi-
"tation, roaming perpetually, with their families and
"herds, from pasture to pasture, over a boundless
"wilderness[1]. Instinctively fond of wandering, they
"were likely to be inspired with a desire to wander
"among the possessions of their more settled neigh-
"bours. And though their manner of life is little
"above brutes, yet it has always been that of gre-
"garious brutes. They migrate in such multitudes,
"that their progression is scarcely resistible. War
"was, moreover, their peculiar delight, and mercy
"and human kindness were totally alien from their
"nature[2]." "Thrice," says the same author, "in very
"early times, these vagabonds are said to have over-
"run Asia[3];" and their subsequent migrations are matters of too frequent occurrence, and of too much notoriety, to be enumerated[4]. Nor will they, in all probability, cease altogether, till the population of the surrounding nations shall have so accumulated as to render them impracticable. One of the latest of these took place little more than half a century ago, when nearly sixty thousand families removed at once from the Wolga to the Balchaler Lake[5].

(20) I shall pause a moment to remark, that the tribe last mentioned had increased very slowly, if at all, during upwards of a century; for which fact, so contradictory to his theory, Mr. Malthus assigns a "probable" reason, for which few indeed are ever at a loss[6]; I prefer, however, the positive one assigned by Hippocrates, who had observed the same fact more than two thousand years ago, in reference to the

[1] Mitford. Hist. of Greece, vol. i., pp. 287, 288.
[2] Ibid., vol. i., pp. 288, 289.
[3] Ibid., vol. i., p. 290.
[4] Rennel.
[5] Tooke, View of the Russian Empire, vol. ii., b. 2., pp. 29, 30, 31.
[6] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 97.

same people, especially as every observation worthy of notice has confirmed his view of the subject. It is not "want of pasturage," or labour and distress, that diminish the fecundity of the human race, but directly the contrary,—indolence[1].

(21) But, to return; in none of the migratory wars of this people, such as those with the Cimmerians, for instance[2], or with the Medes, when they seized upon the government of Asia, in their perambulations, as Usher says their contests may well be called[3]; subsequently pursuing their march towards Egypt, and pushing forward, in various directions, till, after a long absence, they returned to their own country, where they had left their wives and children[4], can any human ingenuity construe their movements into a search and struggle for room and food? The very supposition, as applied to an immense country, eminently fertile by nature, and possessed, or, as Mitford says, "rather wandered over than possessed," by a handful of human beings, comparatively speaking, is surely a satire upon the system it is meant to support. I shall not, therefore, follow the same author through the reasons he assigns for this desolation, in his chapter on the pastoral nations: many of them appear to me sufficiently whimsical, but I shall content myself with simply asserting, that the checks to population, whatever they may have been, are the original, continued, and still existing curses of the country. What the system I am opposing represents as the disease, is the sole remedy for this state of existence. If ever this savage race of human beings rise to the dignity of a civilized and intellectual

[1] Hippocrates, De Aëre et Locis, § iii., p. 292.
[2] Herodotus, Melpom., § 12.
[3] Usher, Annals, p. 78.
[4] Herodotus, Clio, § 105.

nation, it will be by means of the principle of increase which that system pronounces as an evil. Man, indeed, may continue to exist as a Nimrod, "a mighty hunter before the Lord," and either preserve a wilderness around him, or, like the Norman Conqueror, create one; but his indolence and ferocity are no proofs of the evils of the principle of population; nor is one iota of all the misery they occasion attributable to Providence, or, in other words, "to the simple cause "of the superiority of the power of population to the "means of subsistence."

(22) I have dwelt the longer on this part of the subject, inasmuch as it is generally supposed, that from this people originally sprang those northern barbarians, to whose wars and irruptions Mr. Malthus directs our particular attention, as well as the savages of North America, whose habits appear so similar; those of the south of that continent having proceeded, as some believe, from the corresponding part of the old world, southern Asia. However that may be, the habits of barbarism are, in these cases, the same; for which the history of the species warrants us in asserting, there is no cure but an increase of population; and it was natural, therefore, to consider these habits, in reference to the question, and to trace them, as near as possible, up to their very source.

(23) Many words will not be wasted on the wars for empire waged by the Assyrian or Persian monarchies; it being impossible that these should be construed into "struggles for room and food." Their common practice of desolating the countries they conquered, and of increasing the population of the central seats of their empires by their numerous captives, wholly negatives any such idea. Let the one memorable war of Nebuchadnezzar against the Jews

suffice to exemplify this, when the latter were conquered, their country was desolated, and the principal part of their nation carried away as captives, and seated in the most densely-peopled district in his empire, or probably in the universe,—" by the waters of Babylon[1]."

(24) Perhaps, having thus alluded to the first two universal monarchies, I might as well here conclude my observations on the quaternion; for, as it regards the subject under consideration, they may be all, most properly, classed together. Concerning the third of these, then, the Macedonian, none, I think, will presume to say, that Alexander, a name unrivalled in the annals of warfare, commenced his wonderful career, or wept at its termination, from a want of room or food. As to the Roman triumphs, whether amongst the distant Asiatics, or on the northern or southern frontiers of that extended empire; in Africa, in Germany, or in the then almost unknown, and certainly unoffending island we inhabit, not one of them had any such apology. Without a hyperbole, the annals of these boasted empires are written in blood; their history is but one continued series of aggressions and cruelties, for which it is no extenuation to say, that the Supreme Arbiter of events has ultimately overruled them, for the good of mankind. But, were all these accumulated horrors and atrocities resolvable into that invariable and irresistible law of animal creation, necessity, or, in other terms, into the law of population, as now expounded, they are, in the sight of both God and man, excusable, if not even meritorious. But the universal and eternal Parent of Mankind rolls back the impious accusation against his providence; and, if there be another world, and man

[1] Psalm 137.

be a responsible creature, these outrages on his peace will have to be accounted for on a very different principle to that of the modern theory of population.

(25) Perhaps it may be objected, that most of the foregoing examples are upon too extensive a scale to illustrate the point at issue, and that it is unsafe to build any particular deductions on general views. Indeed, it is thought, by the author to whom I principally refer, that the subject is seen the clearest, when the example is the most narrowed[1]; which I cannot but think a singular axiom for one who has erected his entire system upon generalities, and neither a very safe nor a philosophical one as applied to the subject before us; because, in thus "narrowing" our views, we may chance to take individual exceptions for general rules, and personal and party prejudices for universal truths. Before this work is concluded, however, any objections of this nature will be completely obviated, and the subject will be sufficiently narrowed by being reduced to a matter of individual calculation. But, in the mean time, to meet this objection also, the consideration of war, as one of the principal checks to population, as well as in further proof of the fundamental errors entertained in the hypothesis under consideration, both as to its origin and necessity, will be further pursued in the form of a more minute inquiry.

(26) I shall sum up the argument of this chapter, in the words of Sir Matthew Hale, an authority on all subjects on which he touched, and especially upon that of population, on which his principal work was written. "WE NEVER KNEW WARS TO GROW MERELY UPON ACCOUNT OF THE FULNESS OF ANY COUNTRY[2]."

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, pp. 163, 194, &c.

[2] Hale, Origination of Mankind, § ii., c. xii. p. 240.

CHAPTER X.

OF THE WARS, MIGRATIONS, AND COLONIZATIONS OF ANCIENT GREECE, AS AFFECTED BY POPULATION.

(1) I SHALL now examine the evidence afforded by the history of Greece, in reference to the important question at issue; especially as the author I am still considering has directed our attention to the early condition of that interesting country, as well as to the opinions of its philosophers on the subject of the principle of population. To these opinions I shall hereafter advert; when it will be seen how greatly they have been misrepresented; and shall now consider whether the condition of Greece, at any period of its history, afforded the least colour for the deductions which are professedly drawn from it, in favour of the notion of human superfecundity.

(2) Again, however, let it be remembered, that the principle I hope to establish, not only admits, but requires, that in a country thinly peopled, as was Greece, the inhabitants should be prolific; but I shall shew that that prolificness had never been allowed so to develop itself, as to render the "direct checks" to population even apparently necessary, or otherwise than what they always are in themselves, as well as in their effects,—direct and obvious curses.

(3) After having mentioned the early division of Greece into small states, this author deduces thence, that there was "considerable attention to agriculture[1]," which he represents as a prevailing

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 163.

pursuit, and intimates, that "each proprietor would "be induced to cultivate his land to the utmost." Then come the inevitable consequences according to his system. "Population," notwithstanding all this cultivation, "followed the products of the "earth with more than equal pace; and when the "overflowing numbers were not taken off by the "drains of war or disease, they found vent in frequent "and repeated colonization[2]." These consequences, he says, were brought home to every thinking person, and were very clearly seen and distinctly traced to their source. "The strong tendency of population to "increase beyond the means of subsistence was, it "seems, known to the legislators and philosophers of "those times," who regarded the question, therefore, "as deeply affecting the happiness and tranquillity of "society." To some of these "thinking persons," happily for the argument, we can still appeal.

(4) And first, as it regards this supposition of the minute and universal culture of Greece, on which basis the whole argument necessarily rests. The free citizens of the different states, we know were, in reference to the extent of country they possessed, extremely few[3]. It follows, therefore, as an inevitable conclusion, either that the territories of Greece were not minutely subdivided, or, if thus apportioned, that immense tracts still remained unappropriated and uncultivated. Both of these conclusions are partly the fact, and either of them is fatal to all that has been advanced by Mr. Malthus concerning Greece, even upon his own shewing, when he says, that, in the absence of other pursuits, their industry was principally directed to agriculture[4]. And furthermore, whatever part of the sur-

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 162.
[2] Ibid., p. 163.
[3] See Hume's Essay on Populousness of Ancient Nations, p. 240.
[4] Malthus, p. 162.

face might be under culture, we may be perfectly sure that it was very imperfectly improved; the single fact, that it was generally committed to slaves[1], is, with any one who has the least knowledge of the matter, quite decisive. And, lastly, I have the authority of some of the most "thinking persons" of Greece, for concluding that, in the very brightest periods of Grecian history, agriculture was so far from being fostered, that it was positively despised. Plato expresses himself with the utmost indignation on the subject, exclaiming, "what shall we say of those free-born men who voluntarily engage in servile employments?"—amongst the meanest of which he ranks—husbandry[2]! Nor does Aristotle, I am sorry to add, speak in much more favourable terms concerning agricultural pursuits[3].

(5) Enough, therefore, has been advanced, were we not to proceed a single step further in the argument, to prove that it is perfectly idle to suppose that Greece, even in its brightest periods, was ever overpeopled if its surface had been duly cultivated: and, without adequate cultivation, had there not been one hundredth part of the existing population, they would have been still "redundant."

(6) But as the history of Greece is so frequently appealed to, and furnishes, as I confess, so very forcible an illustration of the principle at issue, I shall pursue the present inquiry, in reference to that country, a little further. And, in resuming the consideration, whether War, the check we are still examining, is, or ever has been in reality, a struggle for room and food, perhaps no civilized part of the earth, from its early dawn to the present hour, is a fitter test whereby

[1] Arist., Polit., lib. vii., c. 9. Demost., Orat. in Aristog. Plato in Critia.

[2] Plato, Polit.

[3] Aristotle, De Repub., lib. iv.

to determine the argument; no people, perhaps, having ever been more incessantly engaged in it, in every possible form; whether as invaders or as the invaded, or in its still more horrid character of intestine hostility. Some of the "thinking persons" amongst them have recorded many of these fatal contests, and they could not well overlook their causes, especially as it seemed to be the peculiar taste and habit of both their historians and their poets, to trace to their first springs the course of those events which they set themselves to perpetuate.

(7) Greece was probably first inhabited by migrations from the provinces bordering on the Euphrates[1], which were certainly amongst the earliest parts of the earth that became populous; and where the arts of civilization had been longest retained, or soonest taught, by necessity. Passing into countries so propitious to human existence, either wholly or partially uninhabited, the necessity of constant labour was relaxed, and they soon lost the traces of civilization, and became "inevitably barbarous[2]," as they would have done by degrees, under similar circumstances, at the present day[3]. Barbarians, however, have a relish for luxury, and even for excess, at least as strong as their aversion from labour; their bread, therefore, was to be raised by slaves, and their luxuries obtained, not merely from the chace, but by continued plunder: other criminal propensities might contribute their excitements; and all of them together, operating on a ferocity of nature induced by such a mode of life, occasioned those predatory attacks and piracies by which, Thucydides informs us, the early Greeks principally

[1] Mitford, History of Greece, vol. i., p. 292.

[2] Ibid., vol. i., p. 4.

[3] Professor Kalm, Travels in North America, vol. ii., p. 32. Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. iii., p. 100.

gained their subsistence [1], and which were held honourable amongst them [2], as they were amongst the northern barbarians [3]. So universal were they, that in very early times the same historian says, that all the shores, both of the continent and islands, were desolated [4]. These were the wars of the petty associations which we find to have been the first possessors of all countries. "Greece, thus, in its early days, was in a state "of perpetual marauding and piratical warfare [5];" and the ancient inhabitants "had forms and modes of liv- "ing quite similar to those of the present barbarian "world [6]." "Thinking," as Mitford paraphrases the historian already quoted, "that a livelihood might be "had anywhere, they were anxious for nothing more. "For being always uncertain when a more powerful "class might covet their territory, they had little en- "couragement to build, or plant, or provide in any "way further than for present need [7];" agriculture, therefore, was unknown and unpractised [8]. Now, it is evident that the principle of population could have nothing whatever to do with *dictating* this state of things. Struggle for room there could be none; and if there were any for food, it was that it might continue to be obtained on the conditions of barbarism, namely, in idleness and by plunder.

(8) But the principle I am further about to prove, in direct contradiction to the theory of Mr. Malthus, and by an appeal to that country to which he has so pointedly directed our attention, is not one that is only discoverable in the obscurity of its early and barbarous history. The further we advance, the more clear and

[1] Thucydides, lib. i.
[2] Ibid., lib. i., c. 5.
[3] Bartholin, p. 437, 438.
[4] Thucydides, lib. i., c. 7.
[5] Mitford, Hist. of Greece, vol. i., p. 11.
[6] Thucydides, lib. i., c. 6.
[7] Mitford, Hist. of Greece, vol. i., p. 11. Thucyd., lib. i., c. 2.
[8] Mitford, Hist. of Greece, vol. i., p. 11.

indisputable it becomes, that war is not a struggle for the means of subsistence; but, on the contrary, the excess of those means is one of its most fruitful causes. I think an early passage of sacred history has been fully vindicated from the disgrace of being "a striking illustration of the principle" of population, so called; and, in like manner, Thucydides, on the very threshold of his immortal work, instead of excusing his countrymen and arraigning Providence, by attributing those calamitous contests he was about to relate, to the "simple cause" of the superiority of the power of population to the means of subsistence, maintains (as we have also seen that Polybius does) exactly the reverse, and traces the wars and mutations of Greece,—those internal, as well as external conflicts, which ended in their ruin,—to wealth of soil and territory; to those effects which superior riches always produce[1].

(9) For the wars made upon this singularly interesting people, in more advanced periods of their history, we find, to use the language of Herodotus, in reference to one of the earliest of the aggressors, Crœsus, "various reasons were assigned, in some instances "weighty; but when such could not be found, frivo-"lous pretexts sufficed[2]." Amongst these reasons we may feel assured the Lydian monarch neither alleged a want of space nor subsistence. It would be equally absurd to assign any such cause to the still more important and ever memorable war of Xerxes. The several causes for that waged by Philip are enumerated in that monarch's celebrated letter to the Athenian people (one of the most inimitable diplomatic produc-

[1] Μάλιστα δὲ τῆς γῆς ἡ ἀρίστη ἀεὶ τὰς μεταβολὰς τῶν οἰκητόρων εἶχεν,—διὰ γὰρ ἀριστὴν γῆν, αἴ τι δυνάμεις τισὶ μείζους ἐγγιγνόμεναι στάσεις ἐνεποίουν, ἐξ ὧν ἐφθείροντο, καὶ ἅμα ὑπὸ ἀλλοφύλων μᾶλλον ἐπεβουλεύοντο.—Thucyd. A. 2.

[2] Herodotus, Clio, § 26.

tions on record, which to this hour has made what is known to be the worse seem the better cause;) but neither for that war which gave so fatal a blow to the liberties of Greece, nor yet for that of the Romans, when they finally perished, was a struggle for room and food amongst the pretexts.

(10) It would require considerable ingenuity to attribute any one of those numerous external contests, in which the states of Greece were always too forward to engage, whether single or confederated, to the reason assigned by the system now opposed. One of the most memorable of these, for instance, the invasion of Sicily by the Athenians, which involved almost all Greece in warfare, originated in a very different cause. So far from the aggressors thinking of obtaining room or food by means of that expedition, there is reason to think that they did not know anything of the resources, and but little even about the size, of the island which was to be invaded.

(11) But it is, more probably, to the intestine contests of that wonderful people, that we were directed to look for the development of that main cause of war under consideration. And a country, where the smallness of the states, as we are informed, must have brought the subject home to every thinking person, seems well adapted to demonstrate so universal a truth, if it had any existence, and to impress it upon the attention of its historians, especially as opportunities of exemplifying it were so unhappily frequent. But the history of the internal contests of Greece never once assumes the appearance of a contention for the necessaries of existence. The first invasion of Attica from the Peloponnesus was that of Eurystheus; and it is attributed solely to persevering

hatred to the Heracleids, who had taken refuge in the former country[1]. But "the earliest instance of anything approaching to regular war[2]," was that of Thebes, immortalized by Æschylus, Statius, and others; both the former intimate the causes, and the latter of them has incurred the displeasure of the critics by looking too far back for them, though neither of them have hit upon the real discovery, that it was one of those struggles for room and food which have taken place from "the commencement of society." A greater than either of these, Homer, whom some suppose to have been as accurate as an historian as he was elevated as a poet, has left us in no doubt touching the cause of one of the most memorable contests of antiquity, the Trojan war,—the rape of Helen. It is somewhat singular, that the Father of History also, Herodotus, commences with a war originating from a precisely similar outrage, the rape of Io[3]. The forces the poet summons to the contest, in his immortal catalogue, and which, meaning to represent as vast, he asserted, in the person of one of his most experienced warriors, to be more numerous than were ever previously beheld[4], and which he was therefore not very unlikely to exaggerate, as Thucydides plainly intimates he did[5]; give us a clue whereby to estimate the population of Greece at that period. The custom of the times demanding almost all the free males of military age to go to the wars, headed by their respective monarchs, and which we incidentally see was pretty fully observed in this instance, by intimations, throughout, of the chasms that were left in Greece by this fatal contest, leads us to a conclusion, which cannot but prove, most abundantly,

[1] Thucydides, l. i., c. 9.
[2] Mitford, Hist. of Greece, v. i., p. 31.
[3] Herodotus, Clio, c. 1.
[4] Ἀλλ' οὔπω τοιόνδε τοσόνδε τε λαὸν ὄπωπα. Hom., Il. B. 799.
[5] Thucydides, lib. i., c. 10.

that that celebrated war was not one for want of room: the event proved that such an idea never entered into the thoughts of the leaders, for they never dreamt of retaining any part of the room they had conquered. It is hardly necessary to state, that it was not a ten years' struggle for food.

(12) Perhaps the next event, of paramount importance to Greece, was the return of the Heraclidæ; and, it is needless to say, that this was neither prompted nor promoted by any such cause. The desolating wars that ensued, made indeed room enough, in one sense, but lamentably lessened it in the only one applicable to the argument, by greatly diminishing the means of subsistence for the remainder, and bringing back the fairest parts of Greece to the verge of barbarism[1]; an effect that has always followed, and will still continue to follow, a long and effectual struggle for room. It is true, that great spoliation and oppression ensued, and that the victors rewarded their companions in arms and their abettors, as did the Conqueror in this island; but it is equally untrue, in both cases, that the want alluded to had the least to do with the enterprises which terminated so similarly.

(13) But I am not attempting a history of the wars of Greece, and I shall, therefore, not proceed; otherwise, the further we were to pursue the inquiry, through all the intricacies of Grecian politics, the less have those bloody intestine wars, which were continually afflicting Greece, the semblance of originating in "overflowing numbers[2]," or of being the kind of struggles described. As the different states became more civilized and powerful, the objects of these wars are more clearly defined;

[1] Mitford, Hist. of Greece, vol. i., p. 144. [2] Malthus, p. 163.

and, it is quite needless to say, that those alleged by that author are quite out of the question. They have been summed up in few words, by one that I have no doubt he will allow to be no common observer—Lord Bacon. He says, they "made wars to set up and pull down democracies and oligarchies[1]." In other words, they were the revolutionary wars of antiquity. In the annals of that country, indeed, all the extremes of human character seemed to have met, and all the vicissitudes of fortune to have been experienced. Their ardour for liberty was always accompanied by a desire, at least equally strong, of destroying that of the free states of their own country by which they were surrounded; and their most enthusiastic declamations in its favour were made amongst an unpitied multitude of slaves, many of them the descendants of the original possessors of the country, and vastly exceeding their oppressors in number, by whom they were slaughtered as it suited their pleasure or convenience, the latter well knowing how to replace their loss. Their cause, however, was well avenged, (if it is not being avenged even at the present hour!) by the havoc their haughty masters were perpetually perpetrating upon each other; under various pretences, it is true, but of which the worst passions of the human heart were the real and ill-disguised causes. "Full of envy, murder, debate, and deceit; implacable and unmerciful;" equally anxious to domineer, and impatient of restraint, the perpetual fluctuation of power amongst them was but a change of the scene of domination and cruelty. Holy would have been their wars, in comparison with those in which they constantly engaged, had they been waged under the plea of necessity; but their own historians, as well as others,

[1] Bacon, Works, vol. ii., p. 328.

inform us too clearly concerning their real causes, to admit us to form any such excuse for them. They originated in ambition[1], jealousy[2], hatred[3], revenge[4], rapacity[5], tyranny[6], covetousness[7], restlessness[8]; even the most frivolous pretexts often sufficed[9]; nor was their religion[10] wanting amongst the disgraceful causes of their fatal quarrels, in which they generally did ample justice to the motives by which they were actuated. In a word, they seemed "formed by nature "never to be quiet themselves, nor to let others be "so[11]." Such is the language of the noblest historian of Greece, and concerning the noblest of his countrymen. But, amongst all these various pretexts, how often is it that we meet with the slightest intimation that it was a want of food and room that "let slip the dogs of war"? I have not the most distant recollection of meeting with one authentic instance of such an excuse being upon record.

(14) If such an apology, indeed, be any where suggested, we know enough of the state of Greece to pronounce its falsehood. I have already adverted to this fact, and shall only add, that, in some of the best periods (as they are called) of Grecian history, we know the number of the citizens to have been small and still decreasing. Those of Athens, authentic accounts represent as inconsiderable, compared with a modern city of the first rank[12]. The population of its inveterate

[1] Thucyd., l. i. Polyb., l. v., c. 9. Justin, l. viii., c. 1, &c. Raleigh, Hist. of the World, l. iii., c. 8, § 1.

[2] Herod., Terps., § 91; Erato, § 108. Thucyd., l. i., c. 23. Justin, l. iii., c. 2.

[3] Thucyd., l. i., c. 24. Justin, l. iii., c. 7.

[4] Herod., Terps., § 79. 90; Erato, § 88. Thucyd., l. i., c. 24.

[5] Thucyd., l. i. Livy, l. xxxi., c. 41. Mitford, Book I., p. 182.

[6] Polybius, l. v., c. 9. Bacon, vol. ii., p. 328.

[7] Herod., Terps., § 97. Polybius, l. vi., c. 1. Justin, vi., c. 1.

[8] Herod., Clio, § 66.

[9] Herod., Thalia, § 47.

[10] See Mitford's Hist. of Greece, vol. i., p. 181. Thucyd., lib. i., c. 112.

[11] Thucydides, l. i.

[12] Herodotus (Terps. § 97) makes the free citizens of Athens 30,000; but Beloe observes, "he is the only ancient "author who makes the aggregate of the "Athenians amount to more than 22,000 "individuals."—vol. iii., p. 238. See Hume's Essay on the "Populousness of Ancient Nations," Essays, &c., vol. ii., p. 230—234.

rival, Sparta, was still more diminished. Euripides, I think, says, that Sparta was capable of sustaining twice the number of citizens that Lycurgus provided for[1]; but, instead of their having increased up to that "level," and beyond it, we learn, from Xenophon, that the Spartan families were very much reduced in number[2]; and we have it on the authority of Aristotle, that there was, in his day, scarcely a twentieth part of the inhabitants which it was capable of supplying with subsistence, or the twentieth part of the force it ought to have sent into the field[3]. We are, therefore, certain that there were far from being superfluous numbers of the citizens, or even of their slaves or helots, otherwise we have melancholy evidence that they would have gone a much readier way to work than fighting, to acquire either room or food for them[4].

(15) On the whole, therefore, we are so far from being surprised at the fact, that we should have been certain of its reality, had we not been assured of it, that there were not only in the islands[5], but in the peninsula of Greece, and even in the best cultivated parts, vast "tracts which might have been allotted to new colonists[6]."

(16) As to the migrations of ancient Greece, a few words may suffice. Speaking of its early history, Thucydides says, "it is certain Greece was not pos-
" sessed by any fixed inhabitants, but was subject to
" frequent migrations. Their only view of culture
" was to earn a penurious subsistence; and, as they
" thought they might every where find their daily

[1] Plutarch, Solon.
[2] Xen., Hel., l. iii., c. 3, § 5.
[3] Aristotle, De Repub., l. ii. Dr. Gillies' Translation, pp. 106, 107.
[4] See an atrocious example of this in Thucydides, l. iv., c. 80.
[5] Mitford, Hist. of Greece, vol. i., pp. 237, 238.
[6] Ibid., vol. iii., p. 216. Hume, Populousness of Ancient Nations, Essays, p. 239.

"necessary support, they hesitated little about "changing their seats[1]." Hence, we are informed by Herodotus, that the Hellenians often changed their residence[2]. Indeed, one of their latest historians represents them as long exhibiting that spirit of emigration which seemed to be once almost universal amongst mankind. Averse from all the pursuits of industry, even agricultural, and not desirous to settle, they continued to wander, sending out colonies, occasionally, even to very remote parts[3]. Respecting the two memorable migrations, the Æolic and Ionic,—the former was occasioned by the political consequences of an important event already alluded to, namely, the return of the Heraclidæ, and was a flight of the vanquished party from slavery and oppression[4]; the latter was caused by disappointed ambition[5]. None of the migrations which the history of Greece presents, any more than these, could be reasonably traced to a want of room and food; and it is somewhat singular, that in Attica, long one of the most populous and powerful states, and, perhaps, the least fertile of them all, the inhabitants, as Thucydides informs us, were far more stationary than in any other, receiving large accessions of emigrants, which he gives as the reason why they sent colonies elsewhere[6]. These colonizations, however, are now represented as connected with the principle of population, and, together with the drains of war and diseases, making a vent for its overflowing numbers; reducing them to the due level, and thus bringing the subject home to the thinking persons of Greece: a few words may therefore be devoted to their consideration.

(17) And first, it will be found so far from neces-

[1] Thucyd., l. i., c. 2.
[2] Herod. Clio, § 56.
[3] Mitford, Hist. of Greece, vol. i., p. 11.
[4] Ibid., vol. i., p. 235.
[5] Ibid., vol. i., p. 236.
[6] Thucydides, l. i., c. 2.

sary to the theory of population about to be developed, to deny that a scanty population, like that of Greece, would, when unchecked, increase rapidly, that the fact is directly confirmatory of it. And if the numbers, thus increasing, still refused to cultivate the country, or persisted in cultivating it very inadequately, it would be obviously necessary for them to divide, in order that they might retain their uncivilized habits in less peopled districts. We may, indeed, attribute to the earlier stages of society a high degree of natural fecundity, and still believe that the population, constantly diminished by the fatal effects of the checks already mentioned, could never, in any of the states of Greece, have become superfluous, even in reference to their own habits of existence. I am aware that it was occasionally, and but very seldom, deemed so; far oftener otherwise. I think the reason that it was ever thus regarded is at once plain and undeniable. The public property of the Grecian states belonged to the citizens, whose numbers, and consequently shares, were, in each, pretty accurately defined [1]. Any considerable increase of citizens, therefore, in a community where the pursuits of life were principally agricultural, and property, generally speaking, was in land, would be regarded as operating to the diminution of individual wealth. If this statement be correct, it follows, from the reason of the case, that the natural capability of the lands to sustain a given increase of individuals, would have little influence in reconciling the present owners to relinquish a part of their shares for that purpose, and such were already in possession of the power to decide, as well as the property to be decided about. And I put it to any one's common sense, whether, in any country where the surface is appropriated, and where

[1] Plutarch, in Vit. Lycurg.

the rights of property are recognized, the same views would not prevail, without the least reference to any calculations as to the natural fertility and extent of the country and the possible number of the inhabitants it might sustain. In our own, for instance, where property is entirely appropriated, had it not been for the development of new sources of industry, every accession of population, for ages back, must have been deported, though every such loss was seen to be a direct robbery on the public weal. But this idea will be again adverted to, when, in reference to Greece, it will be given in the language and under the authority of its ablest historian, Mitford. In the mean time, it seemed necessary to premise thus far, as this view of the question furnishes the key to such of the migrations as have been attributed to superfluous numbers (and they are but few), and completely redeems the argument, which concerns only the sufficiency of Divine Providence, from the thinking persons of Greece, or the selfish ones of any other country; some of whom seem but too well disposed to determine it upon the principle of the familiar fable, the Dog in the Manger.

(18) Under these circumstances, I admit that there might now and then have been, in some of the states of Greece, more citizens than allotments, or rather than unmonopolized allotments, and that public colonization was then resorted to under imposing formalities. Sometimes the supposed redundancy of numbers, not even discoverable by the strong lights of selfishness itself, was delivered forth from some inspired oracle; but it would often be hard to resolve their responses on these occasions into want of room. That of Delphos, for instance, which commanded Grinus, king of Thera, to send a colony to Africa, headed by his son Battus, as a cure for his want of utterance: which, as

Justin tells us, "seemed only a piece of mockery, be-
"cause of the scarcity of men in the island Thera, from
"whence they were commanded to send a colony to so
"vast a country as Africa." The intimation was, there-
fore, disregarded. But Apollo was not thus to be slighted, and naturally seeing further into the principle of population than the Therians, if he saw into it at all, knowing that its evils are always the greatest, the fewer are the inhabitants, he very properly sent another of his checks, pestilence, amongst them. Thus compelled, they obeyed, and though "their number was so small as scarcely to fill one ship," they sailed to their destination, and dispossessing the native inhabitants, founded Cyrene[1].

(19) Colonization was indeed not unfrequently dictated on this oracular authority, and often under circumstances of equal absurdity[2], which, considering that the bane and downfall of Greece was the declining number of its citizens, is almost enough to countenance the idea of certain divines, that it was the Arch-enemy himself that inspired them. Just so is our redundancy of numbers announced, or rather denounced, at the present time by our equally inspired authorities. If old Hobbes had had to deliver the responses on these occasions, there would have been more of wisdom and patriotism, though, perhaps, somewhat less of divinity in them: his maxim in an increasing population was, "Live closer and cultivate better." It was the pleasure of Providence, however, as has been already remarked, that social industry was not the early bias of mankind; it was from following other propensities that the world became early possessed, when it would have become as rapidly civilized had it not been for the

[1] Justin, Hist., l. viii., c. 7. lib. xii., c. 10. Herod., Melp., § 151.
[2] Diod. Sic., lib. iii., p. 201. Ibid.,

"checks to population," the operation of which continued some of the most favoured regions in that semi-barbarous state, in which, notwithstanding our partialities, we have, during a long period of time, to regard Greece, "destitute, in a great measure, of all the "useful arts, and particularly agriculture and com-"merce[1]," and subsisting by mutual plunder[2]. Colonizations, therefore, under these circumstances, were but the continuation of those migrations we have already alluded to, prompted by the same motives, and carried into effect by the same means. Those publicly resolved upon might, perhaps, be for the purpose of disposing of such as were deemed redundant upon a principle of calculation already explained; but far the most numerous ones were of a less public nature, of which "the leaders were often no more than the pirates "and buccaneers of modern times. On a savage coast "they seized upon a convenient port, set slaves to cul-"tivate the adjoining lands, and themselves continued "their cruises[3]." The frequency and extent of these ancient emigrations is proved by the same names having been often given to different and distant places[4].

(20) The ease, indeed, with which colonization was effected in those times, and the positive taste maritime Greece had for such adventures, combining with so many other powerful motives, would rarely permit the alleged reason of want of room and food to be even their apparent cause. Nay, so far from any material impediments having been thrown in the way of them, we find the inducements which led to them, whatever they might be, frequently quickened by direct and alluring invitations. The Trachinians, for example,

[1] History of the Colonization of the Free States of Antiquity, p. 27.
[2] Thucydides, lib. i., c. 14.
[3] Mitford, Hist. Greece, vol. i., p. 242. Hist. Colonization, p. 31.
[4] Mitford, Hist. Greece, vol. i., p. 32.

having, in spite of the geometric ratio, greatly decreased in number, invited an additional colony from Sparta[1]: the Sybarites, being in like manner reduced, petitioned for reinforcements from Athens and other parts of Greece[2]; and Timoleon, after having liberated Sicily, finding it depopulated, caused it to be proclaimed throughout Greece, that lands and habitations should be awarded to all who would repair to that celebrated island; so anxious was he for a supply of citizens from the mother country[3]. The beautiful and fertile island of Cyprus was almost entirely uninhabited, a striking proof of the state of population in those times. The Phenicians, therefore, to whom it appertained, bestowed lands upon any who would clear and cultivate them. Settlements were consequently made from Laconia, from Argos, Athens, and other parts, till, from a wilderness, it became a rich and populous country, producing plenty of corn, and famous for the excellency of its wines and oil[4]. Even Egypt itself, then certainly one of the most densely peopled countries upon earth, but which experience had made fully sensible of the advantage of increasing numbers[5], sought for accessions of inhabitants by means of colonization[6].

(21) In addition to these direct invitations and inducements, other motives to emigration would prevail; and amongst so restless and superstitious a race, some of them would certainly be of a very singular nature. Let one example of these suffice,—the founding of the celebrated colony of Tarentum, which, had not its origin been distinctly marked, would no doubt have been carried with the rest to the account of

[1] Thucyd., lib. iii., c. 92. Diod. Sic., lib. xii., ch. 287.
[2] Diodorus Sic., lib. xii., c. 10.
[3] Ibid., lib. xvi., c. 13.
[4] Mitford, Hist. Greece, vol. i., p. 238.
[5] Diodorus Sic., lib. i., c. 6.
[6] Herod., Erato, § 22.

the great cause, want of room and food. In the vindictive war of the Spartans upon the Messenians, the former, it appears, had taken an oath that they would not return to their country without accomplishing the destruction of their enemies. The war was protracted twenty years[1], and Sparta was so thoroughly emptied of its free male population, that its numbers were rapidly retrograding. To remedy this, those who had in the mean time arrived at the military age, and had consequently joined the army, not having taken the oath, were sent to Sparta for the purpose of recruiting the diminished inhabitants, and the result was the birth of a number of citizens, to whose spurious parentage not even the institutions of their Lycurgus could reconcile the returning victors: these, therefore, went forth, headed by Philanthus, one of their number, and Tarentum was founded[2]. The relation may serve to shew (and it is introduced for no other purpose) how little the want of room had to do with colonization in this instance. A cause not very dissimilar to the foregoing, only that the parties were reversed, led to those numerous and more ancient colonizations which took place at the termination of the Trojan war, and one of which, it would be insulting the reader's intelligence to prove, originated in the reason assigned.

(22) But of all the causes that contributed to Grecian emigration, those political commotions which were incessantly dividing and agitating all the states, were unquestionably by far the most powerful[3]. By these we not only see the greatest characters and their adherents constantly driven into exile, but whole parties at once escaping from their country, and settling beyond the reach of successful domination. If Bri-

[1] Justin says ten years, lib. iii., ch. 4.
[2] Strabo, lib. vi. Justin, l. iii., ch. 4.
[3] Herod., Terp., § 42; Melpom., § 147.

tish history bears ample testimony that this is the most efficient of all causes in promoting colonization, how much more does that of Greece?—torn as it was by powerful factions, so evenly balanced, as to make changes constant, and to keep the restless and vindictive passions, which accompanied them, in perpetual activity.

(23) But whatever might be the motives of the colonists of Greece, one thing is remarkable in their conduct; and, if we must believe them to have retained the habits of the mother states, which it is difficult to suppose they did not, it not only shews how little the consideration of mere room had to do with these expeditions, but indicates how inadequately, all this while, the interior parts of ancient Greece were, in all probability, populated. "It is remarkable," says Mitford of these colonizations, "that the Greeks "never seem to have coveted inland territories. They "always chose maritime situations, and if driven from "these, they sought others of the same kind, rather "than be excluded from the sea[1]." They, therefore, left, like the Dutch in Ceylon, the interior parts, generally the most fertile in any country, to the aboriginal inhabitants[2]. And again, the maritime situations which they seized and retained, they caused to be cultivated by slaves; a fact as little in accordance, as the former, with the idea that these settlements were made for want of room. Again, the bare circumstance of slaves being a valuable and marketable commodity in the mother country, as well as in the colonies, and that "men as well as cattle, continued to be the principal objects of plunder[3]," negatives, at once and for ever, the assumption, that human beings had become, in any sense of the term,

[1] Mitford, Hist. Greece, vol. i., p. 241.
[2] Ibid., p. 241. Strabo, lib. vi.
[3] Mitford, Hist. Greece, vol. i., p. 182.

" redundant." Moreover, it proves another important truth, however paradoxical it may sound, that it is wealth and civilization, or, in other words, an aversion from sordid labour, and a wish for property and respectability, either in possession or prospect, which have been the main motives of colonization in all countries, and will ever remain so. But to this important fact I must again advert hereafter.

(24) Nor should it be lost sight of, that Greece received colonists as well as sent them forth, and in the first period of her history, certainly in far greater numbers; nor, perhaps, otherwise, in her last: and still, the early times of Greece were those of her greatest colonizing efforts. Athens, for instance, was probably the most forward in these; and it may be well doubted, whether she ever sent into distant countries, numbers equal to those she was perpetually receiving; the probability is, that the latter greatly exceeded. In an enumeration about three centuries before our era, taken by Demetrius Phalerius, it appears that there were, in Athens, 21,000 citizens, and nearly half as many, namely, 10,000 strangers [1], a proportion of the latter wholly unequalled in any existing city or country in the world. These were not slaves or menials, for they are distinguished in the enumeration from such; and that they would not have an effect on the population of the place and country, the institutions of Solon notwithstanding, it would be idle to suppose. Indeed, Thucydides informs us, that the privileges of citizens were frequently conferred upon those " who have," says he, " from the remotest time, continued to enlarge that " city with perpetual accessions of inhabitants [2]." Nay, his elder contemporary, Herodotus, expressly attributes

[1] μετοίκων, Athenæus, lib. vi., c. 20. [2] Thucyd., lib. i., c. 2.

the progressive increase of the Hellenians, or Greeks[1], to their having incorporated many nations, barbarians and others, with their own[2].

(25) Athens, however, I admit, was distinguished amongst the Grecian states, for her encouragement and distinguished reception of strangers, and she found her account in it,—these enriched as well as replenished her population, and constituted her, in point of commerce, the Holland of antiquity; and both probably received far more colonists than they ever sent forth. But it must likewise be remarked, that neither the effects of these colonizations on the mother country, nor the fate they experienced, are reconcileable with the supposition, that they were the "vent," or remedy of overflowing numbers. More room, in a literal sense, they unquestionably made in the country they left: did, then, the struggle for it, which war is represented to be, become less constant and bloody? Room enough they certainly found, in the seats in which they settled; were they consequently delivered from the operation of that fatal check? Directly the reverse. The contests in which both the parent and offspring states mutually engaged[3] are on record, and fully prove, that to whatever motives the wars of Greece may be attributed, the principle of population is guiltless of them.

(26) In concluding these observations upon Greek colonization, I shall give a single additional proof that, whatever were their causes, the one suggested by Mr. Malthus is palpably erroneous; a proof which, had it previously occurred to me, would, perhaps, have rendered all the preceding ones unnecessary. Numerous and powerful as the Ionian colonies had become,

[1] Vid. Steph. in verb.
[2] Herod., Clio, § 58.
[3] Herod., Polym., § 97.

it was seriously proposed by the Lacedæmonians to transport them into some part of Greece, where they might be under protection from the Persians. To this the Athenians, and probably the Ionians (very wisely) objected, but upon grounds perfectly distinct from want of room: had this been felt, and Greece fully peopled[1], the expulsion of the adherents of the king, which was, at the same time, proposed, could not have created it.

(27) A single sentence may be given to the far more important subject of Roman colonizations, the effects of which have been so deeply and permanently felt throughout so many countries, and down to the present hour. Let it suffice to observe, that the policy and objects of these are clearly pointed out by the author of the Rise and Fall of the Roman Empire, but the want of room and food is not amongst them. On the other hand, we know that they constituted one of those constant drains upon the native citizens, which were the cause of diminishing their number, and consequently of hastening the fall of that mighty empire. The Roman agriculturists, which, whether as poets or prose writers, form a very interesting class of authors, give us too clear an insight into rural affairs at that period, to allow us to suppose, for one moment, that the Roman colonies were sent forth in consequence of want of room and food at home. With accumulating property, and increasing luxury, desolation was making rapid advances, even in the very heart and centre of the empire; and Tacitus informs us that, even in his day, the fields of Italy, formerly so minutely cultivated and highly productive, were left, in great measure, untilled.

(28) I will prolong these remarks, on the subject

[1] Herod., Calliope, 105. Voyage du Jeune Anacharsis.

of colonization, so far as to make a short allusion to still more modern times. Let us then advert to Spain. But the very mention of the country is enough! What with forced, and what with voluntary colonization, the expulsion of the Moors, and the emigrations to the Indies, her inhabitants, one would think, have been sufficiently checked. But, alas, no! still, as they have been diminished, they have become increasingly redundant; and through what Mr. Malthus calls the "vent" for these, prosperity, happiness, and character have likewise escaped, and abandoned the country, perhaps for ever!

(29) I shall conclude, by again referring to the striking illustration the history of this country affords of the principle at issue, and which, I think, is in full conformity with that of Greece. It was in the Elizabethan age that this great country commenced "the heroic work of planting," which is destined to make her the mother of mighty nations. With the motives of these enterprises, want of room or food had nothing whatever to do. These were—the spirit of enterprise, the lust of gold, religious persecution, political animosities; in short, very similar reasons, with those shewn to have been the main springs of Grecian colonization; and these settlements, once formed, were constantly replenished by the same causes as those already noticed, in reference to the latter country. As a further proof of a striking similarity, in both instances, and as an additional demonstration that want of room is always one of the last pretexts that can ever be assigned for wars, the colonists of two branches of the European states, England and France, forming a mere handful of human beings, scattered over a vast and fertile continent, had hardly settled in their respective possessions, before they renewed, in the solitudes of

America, those struggles by which the paternal kingdoms had so often afflicted each other, and shaken Europe from its centre to its circumference. But this is not the point which I wish to leave, more particularly, in the reader's recollection. It is rather the period at which this colonization was first fully effected—the earlier part of the seventeenth century;—a period when at least a moiety of the surface of this country, unrivalled in fertility, was not even touched by cultivation: it is upon record, that narrow and ignorant men were then found asserting that the country was surcharged with inhabitants, and they were successful, not only in disgracing the literature, but, partly, the policy of the country, by their dogmas. Hence, England poured forth some of her best blood, and long felt the consequences of her unwise conduct. Time has given the lie to the selfish suppositions of those days and men, and "yet their posterity approve their sayings," at least as applied to the present moment, which, with weak minds, is always the only one worthy of notice; and, were it possible that the notion I am opposing should obtain in this country, and, at the same time, the art of printing could be forgotten, and the history of that great colonizing period should be consequently left in the obscurity in which that of Greece is involved, future political economists, when tracing up to that period the peopling of vast continents from this empire, would, doubtless, attribute the emigrations of the seventeenth century to a "struggle for room and food."

CHAPTER XI.

OF ANCIENT GREECE. THE CHECKS TO POPULATION PROVED TO BE UNNECESSARY AND PERNICIOUS IN THAT COUNTRY.

(1) HAVING, in the preceding view of Greece, shewn that war, and what is supposed to answer the same end, expatriation, were never rendered necessary by the principle of population, it may, perhaps, be thought that, in reference to that country, the subject has been sufficiently pursued. It will appear, however, otherwise, when the reader is reminded that hitherto only one, and that the least important, view of the question has been taken; the negative argument, if I may so express myself, being far less striking than the positive one, which the due consideration of the checks invariably suggests. The former, indeed, serves to shew that they are unnecessary; the latter that they are pernicious, that they often create, and always increase, the evils which it is imagined, by the system I am opposing, they are constantly redressing: in a word, that it is their absence, and not their presence, that is essential to the well-being of mankind.

(2) The question, then, which remains to be answered, as it respects Greece, is, whether "the overflowing numbers" taken off by the drains of war, or finding their vent in colonizations[1], occasioned the return of comparative plenty[2]. More particularly, let us inquire whether war, which was far more instrumental in keeping down the population of that country, than

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 163. [2] Ibid., p. 15.

all other causes combined, was the means of conferring that blessing.

(3) And can this really demand an answer? Where has it been that plenty has not been connected with peace, as its inseparable consequence? Where, but in the system I am opposing, which is as utterly regardless of the experience, as of the feelings, of mankind? In vain does a poet of the country, to which we are both appealing, denominate peace the "Parent of Wealth[1];" wealth, it seems, is the daughter of war: in vain does a Divine Bard exclaim, that men shall "refresh themselves with the abundance of peace[2]:" war only, it appears, makes way for their refreshment.

(4) As it respects Greece, never was there a principle hazarded more at variance with truth. Prosperous and plentiful indeed would the country have been, if this check could have contributed to plenty and prosperity! But it occasioned, as one of its historians observes, "those calamitous times in which not only the fortunes of this people were continually wasted[3]," but the sufferings of the bulk of the inhabitants must have been extreme; for, to the horrors of war, those of pestilence and famine were often added[4]: all checks to population, and which, being of the same species, mutually engender together and perpetuate each other. Thus "wearied and weakened by perpetual war"[5], to use Sir Walter Raleigh's expressions, they sunk into that condition which, as he intimates, they well deserved; affording a threatening proof of what the checks, when fully unkennelled, will do for any

[1] Fragment of Euripides, Polyb., lib. xii., ex. 7.
[2] David, Psalm xxxvii. 11.
[3] Polyb., lib. ii., c. 62. Hampton's Transl., vol. i., p. 263.
[4] Raleigh, Hist. World, b. iii., ch. 15, § 10, p. 448. Diod. Sic., l. xiii., c. 15, p. 353. Ibid., l. xi., c. 15, p. 249.
[5] Raleigh, Hist. World, b. iii., ch. 8, § 1.

people, though blessed with the finest country and freest institutions upon earth.

(5) Unnumbered proofs might be adduced of the distressful and ruinous consequences of these continued wars, including almost the entire history of Greece; but I shall abstain from selecting any, and thereby escape the reproof of Cicero, levelled at those who employ unnecessary evidence where there exists no doubt.

(6) One of the effects of this check, however, of a perfectly different nature from the foregoing, and of a still darker character, I will not forbear to point out, and that is, its moral consequences. These let a heathen witness describe, and one, moreover, inured to the contemplation of them. "In seasons of peace and "affluence," says Thucydides, "communities, as well "as individuals, have their tempers under better regu- "lation, because not liable to that violence which "flows from necessity. But war, which snatches "from them their daily subsistence, is the teacher of "violence, and assimilates the passions of men to their "present condition[1]." As to the other direct checks, as they are called, famine and pestilence, this great writer plainly traces them to the former, and attributes to them the same debasing effects; especially to pestilence. In his memorable account of the plague of Athens, amongst other striking observations, he ascribes the flood of daring licentiousness and profligacy, which then burst in upon the citizens, to this afflicting cause[2]; and it is remarkable how he has been confirmed in this respect by the observations of more modern historians of the same dreadful scourge[3].

(7) In these guilty wars, therefore, the bad passions in which they originated, were kept alive;

[1] Thucyd., lib. iii,. c. 82.
[2] Ibid., lib. ii., c. 53.
[3] See M. Bertrand, Hist. Peste à Marseilles. Dr. Quincy's History of the Plague in London. Dr. Hodges' Loimologia. See Diod. Sic., lib. xv., p. 418.

and were aggravated, instead of being allayed, by their consequences. To instance their effect in only one state, but that the most forward in furthering the operation of this check, which was ultimately her destruction[1]—Athens; the author already quoted so frequently, after having described the profaneness, violence, and profligacy, which reigned within her walls, at an eventful period of one of her most bloody and protracted wars, adds, "with such a "weight of calamity were the Athenians now on "all sides oppressed. Their city was one scene of "death, and the adjacent country, of ruin and devas-"tation. In this their affliction, they naturally called "to mind the following prediction, which the most "aged persons informed them had formerly been made. "'A Doric war will come, together with a plague; "'there had, indeed, been a dispute before, whether "'their ancestors, in this prediction, read λοιμὸν, a "'plague, or λιμὸν, a famine; but, in their present cir-"'cumstances, they all agreed, with probability, that "'λοιμὸν was right[2].'" He adds, however, his opinion, that on any future occasion the other interpretation might, in all likelihood, be adopted with equal propriety. At all events, considering the close connexion between these checks, it is as striking an example of paronomasia as could, perhaps, be possibly adduced.

(8) The effect of these checks, especially that of war in all its forms, on civilization, need not be pointed out. Mitford observes, that, during their long continuance, "Peloponnesus was relapsing into a state of "anarchy and barbarism, like that in which it had "existed before Pelops and Hercules[3]."

(9) Before I proceed to exhibit the contrast which

[1] Raleigh, Hist. World, b. iii., c. 8, § 1.
[2] Thucyd., lib. ii., c. 54.
[3] Mitford, Hist. of Greece, vol. i., p. 144.

I have in view, I would conjure the reader again to pause a moment, and consider seriously whether it is likely that the principle of population can be that of Nature, which demands checks that necessarily either afflict or degrade the species, and that, in their operation, while professing to rectify the numbers, are, even in apprehension of a heathen, corrupting the morals and debasing the character of mankind: or rather, let him determine, whether any but "the fool who says in his heart there is no God," can believe that the great system of human, nay, immortal existence, is balanced and upheld by means and instruments like these.

(10) The states of Greece are considered by the author I am examining, to be peculiarly adapted for exhibiting the principle of population in its operation and effects. I do not think it necessary to controvert this. Certainly they were sufficiently numerous to exhibit the state of society in a variety of different aspects; and though, perhaps, not so unconnected with each other as their several institutions seemed to imply, still they were sufficiently independent to pursue frequently lines of policy diametrically opposite. In reference to the question under consideration, though none were entirely exempted from the scourge of the great check of the species we have been considering; yet some of them were so much so as to warrant us in making this final appeal to the comparative condition of certain states of Greece, differently affected by it, in favour of the more humane principle of population. Turning, therefore, from the darker pictures, which we have sufficiently contemplated, and which may be revived, if necessary, by opening again, and almost promiscuously, the history of the dominant states of Greece, let us now take a short view of the condition of those which were most

free from the scourge of desolating wars; and where, according to the system I am opposing, the numbers ought consequently to have been most redundant, and the distress proportionably great and aggravated.

(11) The portion of this surprising people, whose story presents the fewest points of attraction to the enthusiastic eye, and least abounds with those soul-stirring incidents on which history loves to expatiate, was, perhaps, Asiatic Greece; the superior power on which they were dependent suffered them to enjoy their institutions, but compelled them to enjoy them in peace[1]. Under these circumstances, there were necessarily no great statesmen or generals produced, but philosophy and the arts were most successfully cultivated: to what a hitherto unrivalled, not to say unapproachable, pitch of perfection the latter had attained, let the Cnidean Venus testify; and in a still sublimer department, those first and greatest efforts of human genius, the poems of Homer, to the immortal honour of having produced whom, Asiatic Greece has probably the fairest claim[2]; certainly, Græcia Proper the slenderest one. The distinction of having given birth to the Father of History is undoubted. Here, then, the master check was not suffered to officiate, the struggle for room and food was scarcely known; and yet, instead of increasing penury being the consequence, inevitable according to the theory I am examining, the prosperity of these communities is the theme of writers well calculated to decide on such a subject. The magnificence of their structures gives complete proof of their extraordinary public wealth; and it is fair to conclude, that private property, answerable to it, was extensively diffused and permanently enjoyed. The paucity of historical materials is in itself no incon-

[1] Mitford, Hist. Greece, vol. iii., pp. 217, 515. Herod., Clio, § 169, &c.

[2] Cicero judged Homer to be prior to Hesiod; no other priority is contestable.

siderable proof of this; that country, and even individual, being generally in the happiest condition, whose career of existence affords the fewest incidents of striking interest.

(12) Something, however, may be here urged about the ample space they so long enjoyed, though not very consistently with the rapid advances of the geometric ratio: nevertheless, to obviate the objection, we shall transfer the examination to Græcia Proper; though, from circumstances already sufficiently adverted to, the examples of peace will be rarer, and their duration more limited.

(13) Megara is an interesting example of the important fact I am advancing. "The Megareans," as Isocrates says of them, "possessing in reality neither "land nor port, and whose mountains are destitute "even of mines, nevertheless, through the laborious "cultivation of their rocks, and by a diligence in "manufacture and commerce which overcame dis-"advantages of situation, profiting on the contrary "from that situation, to preserve the peace of their "narrow territory, though surrounded by warring "neighbours, flourished singularly[1], and had among "them the wealthiest families of Greece[2]."

(14) To adduce another instance on a larger scale, and of a totally different nature, as exhibiting the same happy effects of peace on a people, not, like the former, engaged in foreign pursuits, but in the cultivation of their own soil and territory, and with the utmost aversion from leaving it for distant seats; a condition which the spurious principle of population would speedily deliver up to universal want and misery. My present quotation is from Polybius, and

[1] Mitford, Hist. of Greece, vol. iii., p. 512.

[2] Isoc. de Pace; quoted by Mitford, vol. iii., p. 512.

its extreme appositeness must excuse its length. "Elea," says that celebrated historian, "far exceeds "all the other parts of the Peloponnesus, both in "NUMBER OF INHABITANTS, and in the natural riches "which are there produced. For there are many "among this people who are so fixed in the enjoyment "of a country life, and so satisfied with the abundance "of which they are possessed, that in the course of "two or three generations," (three or four doublings, according to the geometric theory,) "they are never "known to visit even the capital of the province. "This affection for the country is chiefly nourished by "the high regard which, by the constitution of the "government, is shewn to those who are settled in it; "for justice is administered among them in every "district: and great pains are employed, that they "may always be supplied with every thing that is "necessary to life. The motive that inclined their "legislators first to invent such laws, and to give such "attention to their safety, seems partly to have been, "that the province itself was of very wide extent, but "principally because the inhabitants lived, in ancient "times, a kind of holy life; when their country, on "account of the Olympic games that were celebrated "in it, was regarded by the Greeks as sacred and "inviolable, and the people all enjoyed a full repose, "secure from danger, and exempted from the mise-"ries of war[1]". He afterwards, indeed, mentions, that they had been obliged to have recourse to arms in their own defence, which had introduced a pernicious change in their way of life. Still the traces of their ancient manners, he says, were retained, and especially their attachment to the peaceful avocations of a country life; and he censures them for not restoring

[1] Polyb., lib. iv., Hampton's Transl., vol. ii., pp. 139, 140, 141.

them entirely, and, with them, that uninterrupted peace they formerly enjoyed, the effect of which he describes in glowing language; and shews that it might be maintained "by the help of that abundance which the continuation of peace necessarily bestows[1]."

(15) The instance of Elea, as given from this author, is no exempt case, but a mere example of the universally acknowledged fact, that the "struggles" of war never produce food, but that it is the absence of that check, a state of peace, that brings plenty. This was, at least, his settled opinion in reference to Greece; in proof of which, he enables us to extend this appeal to the whole of the Peloponnesus. He contrasts those "calamitous times," as he truly denominates them, "when the people's fortunes were "continually wasted by their wars either against the "King of Macedon, or by civil wars among them-"selves," with his own age; "when," says he, "they live together in perfect peace and union, and "possess all things in the greatest abundance[2]."

(16) What makes the foregoing proofs the more conclusive, is, that they are taken, not only from authors of the highest character, but contemporary with the periods, and witnesses of the facts they describe; and, as it respects the last, when colonization, whatever might have been its effect, had long totally ceased, and, as he informs us, wars likewise. The plenty described, therefore, is not only conclusive as to the checks of famine and scarcity having no existence, but that what is called moral restraint had, likewise, no being; as it would be, indeed, whimsical to imagine that such a "virtue" could exist among such a people in a time of distinguished affluence.

(17) I shall only add another instance from conti-

[1] Polyb., lib. iv., c. 7. [2] Ibid., lib. ii., c. 62.

nental Greece—that of Molossis, and principally taken from an interesting account of that state, given in the concluding volume of the learned Mitford's history of that country. This little kingdom was happily situated at a distance from both the dominant republics which were continually embroiling all Greece. "With an advantageous constitution, and "force sufficient for defence, but not tempting to seek "conquest, the Molossian people seem, for ages, to "have been in more fortunate circumstances than were "common around them." Their territory "contained "the Oracle of Dodona, highly revered always, but "especially in the earlier ages, which gave it a de-"gree of sacred character," and was, moreover, protected by an almost inaccessible frontier, inclosing a very fertile and well-watered interior. Thus, "by ad-"vantage of situation and constitution, exempt from "great troubles, in comparison with many of the states," it was, in a degree, free from the direct check of war. We hear but little, if any thing, of its colonies; and unhealthiness, either from climate or crowded towns, was so far from supplying a vent for the "redundant numbers," that we learn the climate was altogether advantageous; and, like the Eleans, the inhabitants were dispersed throughout the country, and "not confined to crowded habitations within city walls." One of the last glimpses we have of them in their prosperity, is when they had established a lasting peace with the little republics by which they were surrounded, and were enjoying its effects "in a fortunate historical obscurity[1]." At last they unhappily emerge to notice as a rich and populous people, becoming the spoil of the most cruel and insatiable, as well as the mightiest, power that ever was suffered to chastise the human

[1] See Mitford's History of Greece, vol. v., History of Molossis, p. 14—21.

race,—Rome; who destroyed their cities, seized their wealth, and slaughtered or sold them for slaves; reducing, in a single day, a flourishing country to the desolation from which it has not recovered to this hour [1].

(18) But the author I am engaged in answering, seems to prefer exhibiting the subject in a contracted point of view; and, therefore, in his first pages, in which he pronounces his theory to be demonstrated, he presents the whole earth as an island, and conceives that his argument still further triumphs by the illustration. On the same ground, he has appealed, most emphatically, to Greece, and, certainly, that, of all nations, presents the question in this form the most distinctly. Let us, therefore, lastly, inquire whether the principle of population, as it is called, was demonstrated with peculiar force in insular Greece. The room here was, of course, physically circumscribed, and could not be extended; the islands were receiving colonies, rather than themselves colonizing; let us, then, examine, in reference to two or three of these, either too remote or too powerful to be constantly dragged into the wars and fightings of Greece, whether they were plunged into that want and wretchedness which the theory I am opposing, pronounces as the inevitable consequence of an unchecked population; contrasting their situation with what we have already seen to be that of those powerful states of Greece where the inhabitants were duly checked, and, according to the phraseology of the system, brought down to the level of the means of subsistence.

(19) Cos, an island, small, and sufficiently distant, and almost too insignificant withal to attract the notice of the elder Greek historians, rose most rapidly

[1] Heylin, Cosmog., l. ii., p. 198. T. Livius, l. xlv.

to prosperity, in consequence of not being involved in these struggles for room, and becoming an asylum to those who were. It was scarcely twenty miles long, and five wide; but it soon contained a multitude of inhabitants; and after the ruin of their principal city, by an earthquake, a new one speedily arose, which vied in splendour with the first in Greece. This took place in the twentieth year of the Peloponnesian war[1]; and there was abundant time to put the principle of population, and its consequences, to the test, in the many hundred years which followed; during which, we find it described, by Diodorus Siculus, as becoming very populous, and growing, more and more, both in public revenues and in the private wealth and riches of its inhabitants, till it rose to that state and grandeur which, says he, it now enjoys[2]. It is quite natural to suppose, that their advances in useful knowledge, as well as the higher refinements, kept at least an equal pace; and, to this interesting fact, the Coan names, of Hippocrates and Apelles, will ever bear witness. Now, however, all is changed, except the face of Nature *itself;* vestiges of ancient taste and magnificence are scattered in every direction, and applied to the commonest purposes[3], affording a memorial of the difference between an overflowing, and what our modern philosophers choose to denominate a redundant population, and one checked down "to the level of the means of subsistence."

(20) The more celebrated island of Cyprus has been already mentioned as inviting colonists to its shores; and it is sufficiently plain, that the inducements were soon very effectual. We find, from Hero-

[1] Thucyd., l. viii., c. 41.
[2] Diodorus Sic., l. xv., c. 76.
[3] M. Gouffier, Voyage Pittoresque de la Grèce, quoted by Mitford, vol. iii., p. 513.

dotus, that at least six distinct races, which he enumerates, were early settled in the country [1]. With the increase of its inhabitants, it grew in prosperity and abundance; so that, from the wild and uncultivated state in which we noticed it to have been originally, it became "a rich and populous country, pro-" ducing plenty of corn, and famous for the excellency " and abundance of its wines and oil [2]." It is calculated that it then contained at least one million of inhabitants [3]: the question, therefore, is, whether the principle of population had, as predicted, reduced these to want and wretchedness. On the contrary, it is as undeniable a fact as any history records, that it was wealth which occasioned their ruin, by exciting the insatiable rapacity of the Romans. One of their own historians, Ammianus Marcellinus, plainly acknowledges it. Cato was the murderous plunderer whose death, by suicide, would have been prevented by the hangman, had he lived in any age or country where liberty and justice were more than names. At the present moment, Cyprus may, perhaps, contain a bare twelfth part of its former inhabitants [4]; and their individual degradation has corresponded with their numerical diminution.

(21) Crete may be the next instance. Not exempt, indeed, from intestine broils, nor yet wholly free from foreign aggressions, yet secured, during considerable periods of its history, from any thing approaching to the equal operation of the check under consideration, by its insular situation [5], and by its naval supremacy, which, Aristotle says, it seemed naturally formed to hold in Greece [6]; Crete enjoyed a measure of pros-

[1] Herod., Polym., § 90.
[2] Mitford, vol. i., p. 238.
[3] Malte-Brun, Géog., b. xxvi., p. 88.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Aristotle, De Repub., lib. i., c. 10.
[6] Ibid., lib. ii., c. 10.

perity proportioned to that exemption; and, while it so grew in population as to have acquired, in Homer's time, the epithet of Hecatompolis, from its hundred cities, it sustained that population in so much happiness, (which, we are assured, is always measured by the plenty of food[1],) as to obtain from Pliny and Solinus the distinction of Macaros and Macaroneson. Even the epithets, of a less favourable nature, which were frequently applied to Crete, were, in all probability, to be traced to their superior wealth, exciting the envy of the surrounding states. Polybius stigmatizes them for their love of amassing riches, and their habit of increasing them[2]. It is observable, that Aristotle does not sanction the accusations which were usually cast upon Crete; on the contrary, he says, that some of its institutions were preferable to those of Sparta, especially those relating to that general provision which spread their "Andreia, or common tables, and afforded food to persons of either "sex, and of all ages, in the country[3]:" a plain impossibility, we are now told, even applied to that wretched remnant of our population, the public poor; Nature having provided no such room at her table, whatever the Cretans did[4]. We have reason to believe, that their institutions were preserved, and their freedom enjoyed, for the long space of thirteen

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population.

[2] Polybius, lib. vi., ex. 3.

[3] Aristotle, De Repub., l. ii., c. 113.

[4] Perhaps it may be said, this regulation extended only to the citizens. I doubt, and indeed disbelieve this; but, admitting it was so, still that the servile class (for Crete shared, in this respect, in the universal disgrace of Greece) was in circumstances of great comparative prosperity, is sufficiently plain, from an incidental observation of that philosopher. He remarks, that the fidelity of the Perioeci (for so was the lowest and most numerous class in Crete denominated) formed a striking contrast with the conduct of the Helots of peninsular Greece*. We may, therefore, rest assured, that they were sufficiently fed, and had a place at Nature's table; the impossibility of such a thing, for any considerable length of time, according to our modern economists, notwithstanding.

* Aristotle, De Repub., lib. ii.

hundred years; and, populous as was the country, we know that it did not fall by the weight of its numbers, to use a curious expression of Puffendorf, but became another victim to the insatiable cruelty and avarice of Rome, which, as again one of her own historians candidly confesses, (*" si vera volumus noscere,"*) coveted the conquest of so noble an island. That reason was abundantly sufficient, and the inhabitants were exterminated[1]!

(22) But the last instance I shall adduce is, by far, the most interesting one,—Rhodes. Compared with all the states of continental Greece, this happy island seemed to have enjoyed a long state of peace, and its infallible consequence, prosperity; such as few countries ever experienced, either in measure or duration, and fewer still ever deserved so well. The maritime power, which, like the other islands previously mentioned, Rhodes also possessed, if it did not preserve its contracted territory absolutely inviolate, at least protected it from many of those "struggles" which constantly convulsed the continental states, while the justice and moderation which its people observed in all their naval affairs, made their maritime laws those of the civilized world, being adopted by Rome, and wrought into her Pandect. The materials of a lengthened eulogium present themselves to the recollection of every moderate scholar, and are, I confess, passed over with reluctance. But enough has been already said on this branch of the argument. The Rhodians maintained their liberties for the unexampled period of about two thousand years, and Rome had again the disgrace of annihilating them. The recorded charge against them, of universal luxury, proves that, unchecked as was their population,

[1] Florus, l. iii., c. 7.

comparatively speaking; still their numbers did not exceed the means of subsistence, but the reverse. But their institutions solemnly record a still more interesting proof of this fact, so important to our present argument. In Rhodes, the poorest and most destitute individual was never deemed redundant, much less pernicious; this discovery these heathen left for the politico-theologists of our present Christian age. They preserved their poor, universally, with the most sacred care. "They laid it down, as a rule, that every man "should work for his maintenance while he was able;" "but, when no longer able, he should be as well main- "tained at the expense of the state[1]." How "absurd[2];" our modern theorists being the judges! especially in such a crowded population, and so confined a territory, as that of Rhodes. Favoured, however, beyond the lot of most other countries upon the face of the earth, the Rhodians maintained their liberty and enjoyed their growing prosperity for the unexampled duration of nearly twenty centuries! nor were either endangered or destroyed by the principle of population,—the parental evil of human beings, according to Mr. Malthus. No. Rome, as has been said, had, at length, the infamy of extinguishing this ancient state; and Christendom the double disgrace of tolerating "the malignant and the turban'd Turk," in trampling down the wretched remnant of human beings, which Rhodes still contained, to "the level of human subsistence;"—a retrograde operation, which would never be completed till it had extinguished the species.

(23) It may be again, perhaps, expected, that I should shew that the arts kept pace with the advance

[1] Dr. Campbell, Political Survey, vol. i., p. 32.

[2] Malthus, Essay on Population,

of prosperity and population; but here, alas! we have nothing but remembrances to appeal to. That wonder of the world, a monument at once of genius and humanity, their Colossus, which long held forth the lamp of salvation to benighted mariners struggling upon a dark and tempestuous ocean, has fallen; and, ages ago, has been carried off, piecemeal, by Jews and jobbers. One's heart sickens at these recitals. Let us, therefore, here terminate the appeal to Greece; but, in concluding with this interesting portion of it, Rhodes, it is impossible not to be reminded of a still nobler, and far more extensive and powerful island, whose habits and institutions, especially those of mercy, are so similar. And she, too, has raised her monument of compassion, that sublimer Colossus, which, bestriding the whole land, bears in its uplifted hand the lamp of divine charity, and guides the shipwrecked in the storms of fate, into a haven of quietude and peace, till the voyage of life is ended. The selfish and sordid economists, meantime, are loud in their invectives concerning the cost of supplying with its sacred oil that hallowed flame which has been kept burning for so many generations, and which ascends to heaven; a more acceptable sacrifice than all the hecatombs that ever bled upon the altars of the nations. Let these impious and inhuman meddlers beware! An institution of so holy a nature, so long established amongst us, so eminently useful, and so deeply revered, nothing less than a moral and political earthquake, that would overthrow to their very foundations the remaining institutions of the country, can overturn and destroy; and if it fall, it will be the signal of the downfall of the empire! May the interval be short; for it will be one of accumulating misery and degrada-

tion; or, rather, may the nobler principles and better fortunes of our country prevail.

(24) A review of the story of Greece, however transient, and for whatever purpose, cannot fail to awaken in our minds a train of conflicting feelings, which it is as vain an attempt to reconcile as to describe: a land of unrivalled liberty, and courage and genius, as it respects its citizens; but, alas! these were the few; to the rest it was a land of slavery, and suffering, and degradation, equally unexampled. It was to a fundamental error respecting the great principle of population, very similar to the one I am rebutting, that I fearlessly attribute the misfortunes and ruin of the Greeks. Had they been anxious to increase the number of their citizens, rather than of slaves, their prosperity would have been enlarged beyond all conception; while the liberation of the latter would have rendered that prosperity perpetual, by forming a barrier against the tyranny of the few who, whether oligarchs or democrats, were the oppressors and the parricides of Greece. In a word, had they, in a temporal sense, known, in their day, the things that made for their peace, and consequently chained up the Apollyon of the species, the check we have been considering, Greece might, probably, at this moment, have been the existing example of whatever can elevate the intellect or ennoble the character of man, instead of being the melancholy proof of the mutability of all human distinctions.

(25) In the mean time, that a country in which Nature mourns the desertion and desolation of some of her fairest scenes, amidst devastations which scores of centuries have not repaired and repeopled, should be appealed to, in proof that human beings rapidly

outgrow the prolificness of the mother earth, unless their natural increase be constantly repressed, is indeed surprising, and may serve to shew us the nature of a system which can require or admit such demonstrations. Few, on the other hand, I think, can retire from the contemplation of Greece, without very different impressions; such, indeed, were prompted by some of the very scenes we have been describing, nearly two thousand years ago, then in ruins, and in ruins still. "Ex Asia rediens," writes Sulpicius to Cicero, "cum ab Ægina Megaram versus navigarem, "cœpi regiones circumcirca prospicere. Post me erat "Ægina, ante Megara, dextra Piræeus, sinistra Corin- "thus: quæ oppida quodam tempore florentissima fue- "runt, nunc prostrata et diruta ante oculos jacent. "Cœpi egomet mecum sic cogitare: Hem, nos homun- "culi indignamur, si quis nostrûm interiit, aut occisus "est, quorum vita brevior esse debet, cum uno loco tot "oppidûm cadavera projecta jaceant[1]!" Little thought the moralizing Roman, that the imperial city itself would have to swell the catalogue of those desolations; that her high places would be covered with a heap of ruins, and all around become a solitary and pestiferous desert; that so vast would be the decrease of his countrymen, that his national name would become totally lost, and the very language he used silent for ever. Let the professors of the modern philosophy, who, while preaching and prophesying against population, and strangely pointing at the ruins of ancient empires and magnificent cities, which have been destroyed, whose names yet live in history, (to say nothing of so many others, "the memorial of which has perished" with them,) tell us, before we submit to their hazardous dogmas, whether "destructions are

[1] Cicero, Epist. ad Famil., tom. i., lib. iv., c. v., pp. 193, 194.

come to a perpetual end?" And if they cannot so assure us, whether, instead of endeavouring to hinder the natural increase of our countrymen, the patriot's fears and endeavours ought not to take another direction, lest, following the same fate, the mightier capital of his own country should, in turn, bow its lofty head, and sink into the dust, and the posterity of Britons also be "minished from among the children of men!"

CHAPTER XII.

OF THE WARS AND IRRUPTIONS ON THE ROMAN EMPIRE. THEIR CAUSES IRRECONCILEABLE WITH THE THEORY OF HUMAN SUPERFECUNDITY.

(1) But the grand historical proof of the supposed superfecundity of mankind,—demanding, in ancient times, that great master check to numbers, always deemed redundant, war,—is that series of irruptions from the north of Europe, so formidable in themselves, and so important in their consequences, which are now simply resolved into a necessary and continued struggle for room and food.

(2) As in the work under more particular consideration, together with many others of the same class, the terms "redundant numbers,"—"superfluous population,"—and other equivalent expressions, are perpetually repeated[1], it had been well, if those who use them so freely, had, agreeably to the advice of Lord Bacon, first defined them. All population, every number of human beings, even down to a unit, are, without corresponding exertion, (since the golden age, at least,) strictly redundant; as men cannot now, even in the imagination of poets, subsist upon the spontaneous productions of the earth; and the fewer they are, as has been already shewn, the more redundant they become to each other. Is the question, then, as to numbers being redundant, or otherwise, to be determined by mankind in their savage or civilized state? Or, in other words, is "the proper level of food," so much talked

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, pp. 66, 68, 70, 72, 74, 78, 82, &c. &c.

about, accommodated to habits of inveterate sloth, to indicate the number of human beings which ought to exist; or is that number to be deemed superfluous or otherwise, by the abundance of Nature, as developed by human industry, which, meanwhile, still more elevates the "level of character," than that "of food?" I am fully aware, that the barbarian would resist the latter mode of decision, though, in so doing, he would, as certainly, reject the sole means of his civilization; he being, of all mankind, the first to discover, and the most prompt to rectify, the natural superfecundity of his species. In the immeasurable solitudes of prolific nature, the savage sees the principle of population far more clearly than it is now supposed to have been discovered by the sages of Greece[1], in the crowded porticos of Athens. In opposing that principle, therefore, the farther I go back into antiquity, and the more barbarous the region referred to, the less clear will my argument appear; but it will never become so obscure, as not to shew, most triumphantly, that, in no period or place of the world, has the great check of the species, war, been "a struggle for room or food."

(3) On better consideration, however, I must retract the assertion, as it respects the latter necessary of human life, food; possibly there may have been struggles of that nature, but still under circumstances which further confirm the principle for which I am contending throughout: efforts of sloth to obtain that by violence which the bounty of Nature would have bestowed in infinitely greater abundance, on the sole condition of peaceful industry; these have been, proportionably, the most frequent, as well as fatal, where mankind have been the fewest, and, consequently, distributed over the largest space. Indeed, as so much

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 163.

is said concerning different ratios, in reference to the principle of population, I will hazard an assertion, which, if it is not a universal truth, is one that will admit of very few exceptions, namely, that, under equal circumstances, room and food, instead of being proportionate, are in inverse ratios to each other. But as it respects the northern nations, whose irruptions have been so emphatically appealed to, a slight consideration will suffice to shew that their wars were not amongst the struggles in question.

(4) In examining their state of society in its early periods, I still think it necessary to repeat, that, while disproving the supposed redundancy of their numbers, I have an eye to truth only, and not to any preconceived principle of population. That which I shall attempt to establish, yet more, perhaps, than that which I oppose, admits, and, indeed, requires, an extraordinary degree of prolificness in a scanty population, but it accounts for the fact on principles totally distinct from, and indeed opposite to, the latter. All I shall now attempt to prove is, that, notwithstanding that prolificness, their numbers never had so accumulated as to become redundant, even in their state and mode of existence; and that, by violently checking them, they, in effect, postponed that period of prosperity and abundance, as well as of mental improvement, which would otherwise, in all probability, have antedated the glory and strength of Germany and Gallia many centuries.

(5) Reserving for a further and more enlarged view of the subject, the effects of an increasing population, when no longer checked down to the level of the existing means, as preceding and prompting production, and ultimately issuing in the civilization of the people I am about to consider; and purposely

postponing, to that branch of my argument, their deeply degraded condition in their ancient state, at least as far as I can keep that consideration distinct from the objects of my present inquiry, I now proceed to examine whether, even with their slothful habits and imperfect knowledge of cultivation, the irruptions so frequently, and, on this subject, so confidently appealed to, were or were not occasioned by redundant numbers. The author under more particular notice asserts that they were; and founds, in favour of his views concerning population, a long argument upon their history, which extends throughout an entire chapter, taken almost exclusively from Gibbon: which I mention in order to remark that the deliberate judgment of the very author from whom he has selected his facts, and one of no mean intellectual attainments, is, in this instance, as in many others, of not the least weight whatsoever with him, because, founded though it was upon incontrovertible truths, it clashed with the theory he had previously imbibed. He notices, also, the opinion of Montesquieu, which coincides on the point at issue with that of Gibbon, for the purpose of giving it a similar contradiction, and Montesquieu is doubtless a competent authority on a subject to which he also had directed the energies of his capacious mind. The opinion of a fellow-traveller, Dr. Clarke, who, in traversing the very scenes which seem to have confirmed Mr. Malthus in his opinion of the redundancy of the population of Scandinavia in former times, who pronounced what had been written relative to the "Northern hive," as it is called, to be "nonsense," is also utterly disregarded. But this is not so surprising, as that the authority of an author contemporary with some of the occurrences alluded to, and that author Cæsar, is rejected as to the real cause of those internal

migrations of the Germans, because it did not recognize "a foresight of the necessity of discharging their redundant population[1]." Our author solemnly argues the point with him, which, however, Cæsar cannot resign without relinquishing at the same time all pretension either to veracity or common sense; for he had already said, that, notwithstanding these annual migrations, immense regions were still lying entirely waste[2].

(6) The authority of such writers as these being rejected, that of Machiavelli is made to replace it, who gives us a quotation, as Gibbon supposes, from Deacon Paul. He tells Pope Clement the VIIth, in the first sentence of his History of Florence, addressed to that Pontiff, a story about the vast multiplication of the people north of the Danube, so that great numbers of them are obliged to leave in search of fresh quarters; which they accomplish, it appears, with the utmost possible fairness, dividing themselves into three parts, with a proper proportion of the different ranks in each—a far fairer scheme of general emigration than any ever yet propounded by our modern political economists; and, indeed, the only one that ought to be listened to for a moment. They cast lots; and the division on which the lot falls marches off to seek its fortune, leaving the rest to enjoy themselves and their possessions at home, with more room, and in freedom. This relation he gives in the present tense, and without a figure of speech, just as correctly, I think, as if it were put in the past; and, "these "inundations and redundancies of people," says he, "were the destruction of the Roman Empire[3]." The account, altogether, is sufficiently absurd; but I

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 74.
[2] Cæsar, Comm., l. iv., § 3.
[3] Machiavelli, Op., p. 1.

have no objection to take it as a true statement, if accompanied by those other facts which, though occurring in the same sentence, Mr. Malthus has omitted. The latter asserts, that mankind multiply up to their food—doubling every 25 years, if they have plenty of it. While the Northern barbarians, checked as they were in all possible ways, thus multiplied to such "unsustainable numbers," to use Machiavelli's expression, which Mr. Malthus has omitted, how happened it that the Romans did not exceed them in that multiplication, but, on the contrary, that the Western Empire, as he informs us, was so weakened by the removal of the Emperor to Constantinople, as to occasion, ultimately, its downfall? It will be difficult for Mr. Malthus, I think, to reconcile these facts to his own theory; of that which I shall propound, it might be quoted as a proof.

(7) It may be further observed, that, having taken up the representation of Machiavelli, to the rejection of that of Gibbon and Montesquieu, in discovering the natural consequences of this "redundancy of numbers," as he expresses himself, Mr. Malthus differs still more widely from his own authority than he does from the others. Machiavelli, so far from developing the effects of population in war, pestilence, and famine, pursues it to civilization, plenty, and peace: in another of his works, he says, "Germany and "Hungaria (whence these inundations came) are "better cultivated and improved, so that they can "now live plentifully at home, without rambling "abroad[1]."

(8) Let us now proceed to consider the assertion, that the events above mentioned, "the most horrible devastations;"—"incredible destruction of the hu-

[1] Discourses on Livy, p. 343.

man species," as well as "famine"—"pestilence," so long and so deeply felt "throughout the fairest "portions of the earth, may be traced to the simple "cause of the superiority of the power of population "to the means of subsistence." The fact of these horrible devastations, occasioned by the irruptions of the northern nations, is undisputed,—it is their causes only which concern the present question.

(9) Various were the motives which urged the northern barbarians, as they are often denominated, to those irruptions which are amongst some of the most striking facts recorded in history. Some of these, as alleged by themselves, would be deemed not only justifiable, but even honourable, in any age or country of the world; such as their wars in defence of their native liberty, or for its recovery when enslaved, and their retaliations for unprovoked injuries and aggressions. But that ferocious spirit, too natural to man, which their habits of life so much encouraged, and their religion itself heightened, joined with that restless and migratory propensity which pervades the species when in the first rudiments of society, doubtless led to many of those irruptions which were so formidable to the civilized world. To these the allurements of a milder climate, and the luxuries of civilized life, may occasionally have been added. Now and then, though but very rarely, the want of a sufficient expanse of country is alleged; but, to believe this reason valid, we must discredit every other fact which is recorded of them, whether derived from themselves or from the observations of their only historians.

(10) It is not difficult to imagine what led some writers to speak of these restless tribes as extremely formidable in numbers, as well as in personal strength and ferocity. Their unknown origin, strange and

savage appearance, the suddenness of their attacks; the panic fears of those against whom they proceeded, motives of palliation when the latter were vanquished, and of vain-glory when they were victorious,—all these operated as so many causes for exaggeration; while their moving in whole communities, not only of warriors, but including their old men, women, and children, (whose numbers, it hardly needs to be noticed, must always have greatly preponderated,) swelled those irruptions apparently to a most formidable amount. But, had they been duly analyzed, they would have been deemed contemptible, though they had comprised, as they often did, the entire inhabitants of the country they occupied. Such, for instance, as those of the Cimbri, the Helvetii, the Suevi, and others. The number of one of these entire nations has been already noticed, from Cæsar; and his spirit of exaggeration, when his own exploits were the subject of his pen, may be learnt from his setting forth the inhabitants of Britain as so prodigiously numerous[1], though the representation was totally irreconcileable with the rest of his accounts of the country. But it is from such descriptions that we may best determine whether those regions, which wondering ages, from the Monk Jornandes downwards, have denominated the *officina gentium,—vagina nationum*, &c., had the plea of want of room for their murderous migrations.

(11) The vast country which Tacitus, in his celebrated Tract, denominates Germany, he describes as friendly to vegetation, the soil productive of corn, and well stocked with cattle[2]: but, indeed, his evidence is superfluous, as to the fact of the natural adaptation of

[1] Cæsar, Comm., v. 10. Hominum est infinita multitudo.

[2] Tacitus, De Mor. Germ., § 5.

that extensive region to the production of all that is necessary to human subsistence. At that period the great proportion of it had never been reclaimed by man from the wildest state of nature. Its general description, therefore, was that of a cheerless scene, covered with the gloom of forests, and deformed with wide extended marshes[1], full of unprofitable heaths and unhealthful pools[2]. Cæsar mentions several of these forests[3], one of which he describes as five days' journey broad, and sixty long[4]; and even in Gaul, which he represents as so much more populous, his operations perpetually imply the fact, which is, indeed, often expressed, that much of the country was still almost in forest; the cultivated lands being only exceptions to its general state. The custom he mentions, of having their houses surrounded by a wood, and near a river[5], is conclusive as to the thinness of the population; the reason he assigns for the choice which he gives us to suppose was general, is foreign to this inquiry. But it is with the situation of Germany, which was the same as that of Gaul before the Romans had partially introduced civilization, that we have mainly to do, the former country being that *officina gentium* alluded to.

(12) It is impossible to reconcile the accounts we have of the Germans with any state but that of a very scanty and scattered population. They had no cities[6], nor connected villages[7], but dwelt in separate huts, dispersed up and down, as a wood, a meadow, or a fountain happened to invite them[8]; their dwellings were not allowed to be contiguous[9], but a vacant space

[1] Tacitus, De Mor. Germ., § 5.
[2] Heylin, Cosmog., p. 34, Germ.
[3] Cæsar, lib. iv., § 2.
[4] Ibid., lib. iv., c. 16. l. vi., c. 23.
[5] Ibid., l. vi., § 28.
[6] Mallet, North. Antiq., vol. i., p. 237; Tacitus, De Mor. Germ., c. xvi.
[7] Ibid., xvi.
[8] Ibid., xvi.
[9] Ibid., xvi.

was left around each of them[1]. Nor did they settle even in these; it was their object to keep up a restless and migratory spirit, and an aversion from cultivation, in their whole community; and the vast space they occupied, in proportion to their numbers, enabled them to accomplish it. Tacitus and Cæsar concur in stating the fact; the latter assigns the reason[2]. Their practice of annually shifting, and allotting fresh lands to each, is frequently alluded to[3]; the ease with which it was accomplished, is noticed, and attributed to the vast extent of country which they possessed; where, though they thus cultivated a fresh soil every year, there was no want of land, but much still remained to spare, and unoccupied[4].

(13) These communities were, therefore, perpetually in motion; and we read of some entire tribes that had been wandering, for years, through these northern forests before they emerged to notice[5]. Nor does it seem impossible, that they might have done so without encountering much hostility, as we learn (and the fact is worthy of remark, as a strong proof that room was superfluous in these regions, whatever food might have been) that their various states were seated among, and surrounded by, forests[6], not only on a principle of defence, but of ostentation. Indeed, Cæsar tells us, that they accounted it their greatest national glory that the country should be laid waste as far around them as possible; and he gives us an instance of a nation, having on one side a desolate tract of six hundred miles in extent[7].

(14) These, together with many other circumstances, which might be adduced, were it necessary,

[1] Mallet, North. Antiq., vol. i., p. 237. Tacitus, De Mor. Germ., c. xvi.
[2] Cæsar, Comm., lib. vi., § 20.
[3] Ibid., l. iv., c. 2.
[4] Tacit., Ann., lib. xiii.
[5] Cæs., Comm., l. iv., c. iv.
[6] Tacitus, De Mor., c. xl. Ibid., xliii.
[7] Cæs., Comm., l. iv.

and, above all, those habits, passions, and pursuits, by which they were distinguished, and which exist only in an early stage of society, wholly disprove the idea of a redundant population, at that period, in the vast and fertile regions of Germany. The numbers that did then inhabit those immense districts, it is now impossible to determine; those of Gaul, however, which was far more densely peopled, we are enabled to guess at, from some evidence that has reached our times. Not to refer the reader again to the recorded number of the inhabitants of the country of the Helvetii, forming a part of it, nor to the number it was then calculated one third of its finest districts could sustain, we shall appeal to a much later account, when the inhabitants of that province, far more extensive than present France, had been doubtless increased greatly by the long intervening period of comparative prosperity which it had enjoyed; and then the number of heads paying tax to the Roman empire were, according to a probable calculation, about five hundred thousand[1]. Without affecting to be able to determine, with any degree of exactness, the proportion that these bore to the whole number of the inhabitants, we may safely assert them to have been very inconsiderable, in comparison with the present population of that fine and fertile region, which it would appear no exaggeration to any who have seen it throughout, to state, is not even now half cultivated, nor, consequently, subsisting any thing approaching to its proper population.

(15) If, then, the population of Gaul, at the period of these irruptions, was, comparatively speaking, thin, which the descriptions of the country, still more than the direct facts advanced, oblige us to believe; what was that of Germany?—all but a

[1] See Gibbon, History of the Decline, &c., vol. iii., p. 88.

solitude! The very numbers sent forth on these occasions, which, I must again repeat, were, on every possible supposition, highly exaggerated; although often consisting,—as Mr. Malthus's authority, Machiavelli, remarks,—"of an entire nation, with their wives and "children, leaving its own country to fix themselves "elsewhere," which motive, and mode of warfare, were that, as he well observes, which rendered them so formidable,—I say, the very numbers given are, under such circumstances, sufficient evidence of themselves of the scanty population of the districts they deserted; and, as Gibbon says on one of these occasions, "would, if fairly stated, appear contemptible."

(16) It is concluded, however, not only that these migrations were composed almost universally of the redundant numbers alone, sent forth by lot, as we have previously seen, but that they left no chasm in the population from which they were rejected. This view of the subject is perfectly consistent with the theory in question, and, indeed, necessary to it; but as clearly inconsistent with facts.

(17) One of the first of these northern irruptions was that of the Cimbri and Teutones; it occurred six or seven centuries after the founding of Rome—a long interval of accumulating redundancy, according to the theory of superfecundity. Now, we know that this was no struggle for room; for, between their Chersonesus and the plains of Italy, there was unoccupied space enough, and none could have disputed with them a settlement. That it was not a mere disburdening of superfluous numbers, is equally certain: it was a total evacuation. Had the theory of this struggling for room been true, the vacant territory would have been speedily repossessed, especially as the pressure of the Roman empire, in the plenitude

of its power, was very great in that direction. But two hundred years after that emigration, we still find the country, described by Tacitus, as almost a solitude. "Monuments of their former strength and "importance are," says he, "still to be seen. Their "camps and circumvallations are not yet erased. From "the extent of ground they occupied, you may even "now form an estimate of the force and resources "of the state; and the account of their grand army, "consisting of such prodigious numbers, seems to be "verified[1]." Half a century afterwards, we hear of a similar irruption, that of the Helvetii; but Cæsar, who records it, does not allow us to suppose this was the struggle in question, for he has given the real motives for it[2]. This also, so far from leaving no chasm behind, was a total desertion. They burnt down their towns and houses, destroyed all the property they could not move, or that was superfluous to their expedition, and emigrated with their entire population. But the conqueror, who did not totally destroy them, drove back the remainder to re-inhabit their deserted country[3]. Very similar reasons, it appears on the like authority, induced the Germans to attempt a settlement in the same country, Gaul; into which, moreover, they were invited by some of the inhabitants; and Cæsar states his reasons for warring upon Ariovistus, with whom, it is to be remarked, that the contests of Rome with the Germans commenced. He did not like their custom of crossing the Rhine, allured by a finer country

[1] Tacitus, De Mor. Germ., c. xxxvii.

[2] Propterea quod eo consilio florentissimis rebus, domus suas Helvetii reliquissent, ut toti Galliæ bellum inferrent, imperioque potirentur, locumque domicilio ex magna copia deligerent, quem ex omni Gallia opportunissimum ac fructuosissimum judicassent, reliquasque civitates stipendiarias haberent.—Cæs., De Bel. Gall., l. i., c. xxx.

[3] Id eâ maxime ratione fecit, quod noluit eum locum, unde Helvetii discesserunt, vacare.—Cæs., Comm., l. i., c. xxi.

and better fare[1]. He knew well enough that a mere want of room was no cause of their movements, nor could the greatest extent of it induce them to be stationary. Once in possession of Gaul, he said, they would march for Italy, as the Cimbri and Teutones had done before; for he could not imagine that such a fierce and barbarous people would restrain themselves in bounds[2]; in truth, he might well judge so, for the people against whom he was about to proceed boasted that they had not been under a roof for fourteen years[3]. Their numbers, however, including every description of persons, men, women, and children, were, indeed, contemptible—one hundred and twenty thousand[4]; affording, therefore, fewer than thirty thousand fighting men. Against these, nevertheless, the might of Rome was directed, with Cæsar at its head. Many other instances might be given of similar desertions of country. The Marcomanni totally left their territory, now called Swabia. The Frisians, also, as appears from Tacitus, left their country, conveying with them the weak through sex or age, and settled on a large tract near the banks of the Rhine, which they found vacant; but which, like many another tract, even in this country, though wholly unoccupied and unimproved, they found, nevertheless, to their cost, was appropriated;—the Roman soldiers claimed it[5].

(18) But I shall not needlessly multiply these instances, but bring a last one, which will be peculiarly interesting to Englishmen, as it will have reference to the peopling of our own country by our distant ancestors. It is one of the events, moreover, to which Mr. Malthus refers. Bede informs us, that the Saxon

[1] Cæs., De Bel. Gall., l. i., c. xxxi.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., c. xxxvi.
[4] Ibid., c. xxxi.
[5] Tacitus, Ann., l. xiii., c. liv.

emigrations to this island proceeded principally from the country called Angelland, between the provinces of the Jutes and the Saxons, which country, it is said, consequently "remains desert to this day[1];" and he wrote nearly three centuries after the event. The Saxon Chronicle reiterates the same fact, after a still longer lapse of time[2].

(19) Enough has been advanced on this subject; on a full view of which, nothing appears more contrary to fact, and even to possibility, than the often repeated supposition of the overflowing population in the northern regions. But their migrations and irruptions may be fully accounted for upon principles so much more rational, as well as consistent with history, that it excites mingled surprise and regret, that an argument which deeply concerns the human race in its ultimate bearings, should have been constructed on such a baseless hypothesis. I would ask the author I am rebutting, who traces the irruptions of these barbarians to a want of room or food, whether, if some miracle had multiplied their lands on the very eve of any of their expeditions, seeing that they had already abundantly more than they could possibly occupy, even in their own imperfect manner, would it have prevented these invasions of their neighbouring or distant enemies? would it even have postponed them a single day? These vast maraudings are plainly to be traced to the very feelings and habits of their existence: without any notion of the respect due to property, the idea of plunder was not only alluring to them,—it was irresistible; and its forcible acquisition was deemed even honourable. But if plunder excited them, the habit, the love, or,

[1] Hist. Ecc. Brit. l. i., c. xv.

[2] Oꝼ Angle comon. ꝼe á ꝼiððan ꝼtoð þeꝼig. betþix Jutum ⁊ Seaxum. —Chron. Sax. apud Gibson.

I may add, the passion for war, which constituted their pleasure, their business, and their glory, and which their very religion, heightened into fanaticism,—impelled them still more strongly; and their youth even migrated to other nations, in order to engage in it, if their own happened to be at peace; when the struggle for subsistence was just as much their motive, as it was of those British gallants of high blood, who were constantly wandering through Europe, a few centuries ago, in search of precisely the same occupation. As the ties of country were so slight in a population thus constituted, instances might, and no doubt did, occur, of these irruptions for the purpose of changing their seats, either led by fancy, or allured by a fairer and more fertile climate; but these, though accounted for, now and then, upon a different principle, proved directly the reverse of a redundant population—they evidenced, on the contrary, that, generally speaking, the population was exceedingly thin. Had the world been adequately peopled, none of these migrations could have taken place; they would have been resisted at every step. The answer of one of their warriors to an inquiry as to the distance of a territory meant to be invaded, well illustrates the consequences which must then have ensued. "Fifteen days," said he, "but fifteen days of fighting." Where the rights of possession and proprietorship were scarcely recognized, and seldom respected, these movements, from whatever cause, would not unfrequently, perhaps, be the means of dispossessing weaker tribes of their territories, without implying that the entire region was inhabited at all, much less overstocked with numbers; but these outrages invariably took their rise from motives of a far different character from the law of necessity. There is not

one of them that is not plainly resolvable into either the weakness or wickedness of those human institutions, which the system I oppose entirely absolves, laying the accumulated load of human misery, which they have created, at the door of Nature[1].

(20) I shall close my direct reference to the situation of these tribes, by an instance of a real struggle for room and food, which affords an affecting exemplification of the point at issue. Tacitus records one of these irruptions, that of the Ansibarians, whose case, he says, excited the sympathy of all the surrounding states; he might have added, and that of all succeeding times. They had been driven out of their native country by the Chausians, probably because of their taking part with the Romans; for, though professing adherence to the Roman empire, the Chausians were by no means deemed sincere in their attachment[2]. They roamed about in quest of a retreat, where they might subsist in peace, although in exile. Boiocalus, a warlike chief, was at the head of this wandering nation. He had gained renown, and distinguished himself by his attachment to the Romans, and had suffered for it. He had served under Tiberius and Germanicus; and now, at the end of fifty years, he was willing to submit himself and his people to the protection of the Empire. They were settling upon a waste of great extent, which, however, it appeared the Romans claimed; a circumstance that gave rise to the affecting interview which Tacitus records. "The "country in dispute," said Boiocalus, "is of wide "extent; and under colour of reserving it for the "use of the legions, whole tracts of lands remain un-"occupied, waste, and desolate. Let the Roman sol-"diers depasture their cattle; let them retain lands

[1] Tacitus, Ann., l. xi., c. 18. [2] Ibid., l. ii., c. 17.

" for that purpose; but let them not, while they feed " their horses, reduce mankind to the necessity of " perishing by famine. Let them not prefer a dreary " solitude to the rights of humanity. The affections " and friendship of a people wishful to live in friend- " ship with them are preferable to a wide waste of " barren lands." He mentions that the country had frequently been successively vacated and repossessed; and adds, " The firmament over our heads is " the mansion of the gods: the earth was given to " man; and what remains unoccupied is common to " all." At these words, adds the historian, he looked up to the sun, and appealing to the whole planetary system, asked, with a spirit of enthusiasm, as if the heavenly bodies were actually present, whether an uncultivated desert, the desolation of nature, gave a prospect fit for them to survey? Would they not rather let loose the ocean, to overwhelm in a sudden deluge a race of men, who made it their trade to carry devastation through the nations, and make the world a wilderness? Avitus answered, in a strain of insolent injustice: The law of the strongest must prevail; the gods had so ordered it. The Romans were sovereign, and would admit no other judges. To Boiocalus, however, in recollection of what he had formerly done and suffered in their behalf, they privately offered lands. The noble-hearted German rejected the offer as the price of treachery with disdain. "The earth," he said, " may not afford a spot where we may dwell " in peace; a place where we may die, we can never " want." They parted under the influence of this feeling, and neglecting nothing which prudence could dictate, their heroic chieftain attempted to rouse several of the surrounding nations to an alliance with them; in which he partly succeeded; but the fortune

of the Romans prevailed, and their allies renounced them. In the cause of others, none, it is said, were willing to encounter certain danger. Driven, therefore, from these unoccupied wastes, the Ansibarians, in their distress, were abandoned by all. They retreated to the Usipians and Tubantes; being there rejected, they sought refuge with the Cattians, and afterwards with the Cheruscans. At length, worn out by long and painful marches, in most places repulsed as enemies, and wanting every thing in a foreign land, the whole nation perished. The Romans destroyed them; the young, and such as were able to carry arms, were put to the sword; the rest were sold to slavery[1].

(21) This affecting history affords us then, on a minute scale, which Mr. Malthus prefers, a real struggle for room and food. It was a struggle against "human institutions," which this noble-hearted people did not find to be so "light and superficial" in their inflictions as our anti-populationists argue; for they interdicted to them the cultivation of the desert earth, and unhesitatingly doomed them to universal destruction. To attribute sufferings like these to the evil effects of the principle of population, to the natural "tendencies" so much talked of, is an equal insult upon humanity, nature, and truth. Nevertheless, there has never been a martial massacre upon earth that this wretched principle could not justify as clearly as that of Boiocalus.

(22) Perhaps even the warmest assertors of this direct check will deem it superfluous for me to disprove that the wars of Rome in Africa or the east, or in our unoffending and distant island in the west, were clearly resolvable into the struggle in question.

[1] Tacitus, Ann., lib. xiii., c. 56.

I shall, therefore, pass on to a subsequent period in the history of that mighty empire, postponing the few desultory and concluding observations, which I shall make in relation to this subject, to the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER XIII.

OF THE WARS AND IRRUPTIONS ON THE ROMAN EMPIRE; THEIR CAUSES IRRECONCILEABLE WITH THE THEORY OF HUMAN SUPERFECUNDITY.

(1) To resume, as shortly as possible, the important subject of the preceding chapter: it will require no extensive research to shew that the wars of Rome, whether those of aggression on distant countries, or those by which she fell a just victim to the vengeance of a world over which she had long tyrannized, cannot by any possibility be construed into contests for that space and sustenance which are necessary to human beings.

(2) Need the conduct of that empire towards its enemies or even dependents be particularized? Instrument, as it was, in the hand of Providence for working the future good of mankind, it was still more its scourge. The reasons which the Romans alleged for their continued contests include every possible variety of motive save that of justice; while the savage ferocity with which they waged them, fully justified their origin, and comported with what might be expected from a people whose favourite amusement, even in peace, was the witnessing of the murderous fights in their theatres, in which the vanquished, if not killed upon the spot, were often doomed to a violent death; so that, "perhaps, thousands of victims were thus annually slaughtered[1]." War with them, therefore, even upon the most distant and unoffending, was

[1] Gibbon, Decline, &c., vol. v., p. 206.

frequently the immolation of all that fell into their hands; though sometimes the women and children were reserved for a still more severe fate. In the government of the vanquished countries, haughty and tyrannical to the last degree, nothing, indeed, could exceed the corruption that prevailed at home, except the extortion and cruelty which reigned in their provinces[1], where means were resorted to by their governors for the purpose of amassing enormous wealth, involving all but impossibilities, and, indeed, sometimes those, when their wretched tributaries had to sell even themselves to make up the exactions demanded, or abide the consequence—death. Hence many of those who were privileged, by being enrolled amongst the Roman provinces, hailed their conquest, by those called barbarians, as an auspicious change[2]. Their slaves (and these constituted a great mass of the people) had no political rights whatsoever; but were subjected unredressed to unheard of wrongs and outrages[3]; and they even confounded tradesmen with slaves[4]; freedmen, as they were called, awakened their jealousy and hate, and enjoyed very limited and insecure privileges. Even their allies, the very instruments of their power and greatness, were attacked whenever they stood in the way of their ambition, or, as was more commonly the case, excited their covetousness. Often, indeed, a whole population was destroyed to gratify their caprice, or to replenish their coffers; and their liberal Catos were the willing instruments of deeds, from the bare recital of which, humanity recoils. Let those who may think this picture of

[1] Montesquieu, Rise and Fall, &c., ch. viii.

[2] Montesquieu, Ruin and Decay of the Roman Empire, ch. ii., p. 13. Gibbon, Decline, &c., vol. v., p. 350.

[3] Diodorus Siculus. Montesquieu, Rise and Fall, &c., ch. viii.

[4] Montesquieu, Rise and Fall, &c., c. vi.

their cruelty and injustice overcharged, turn to the work of Montesquieu on that people, and it will then appear as much extenuated. Such was their conduct in their power and prosperity; from the time they durst do thus, they did it. Regarding their morality and justice, public or private, Cicero, as well as others, inform us, corruption reigned from the very heart of the empire to its remotest extremities, and they either pillaged mankind as their tributaries, or destroyed them as their foes.

(3) But it was not the feeling of vengeance alone which Rome had universally excited. She had become, in her turn, an object of plunder. She had "gathered into her nest the spoil of nations;" she was not merely enriched and embellished, she was, at length, fed by the sweat of distant labour. Her weakness, therefore, increased with her wealth. She had, in fine, decked herself out as a rich and ready victim, alluring the attacks of the surrounding nations. Very early in that period, during which Rome exhibited herself as a general conqueror, the barbarians, as she called those whom she attacked, were, even according to her own historians, far from being ignorant in what the strength, as well as the weakness, of the Empire consisted; and of the cause to which they owed their degradation. And the prayer of Tacitus to the gods of his country, that they would avert the fate of Rome by the mutual dissensions of these extensive nations, clearly indicates the posture of the Roman Empire, even in its proudest periods.

(4) If, therefore, we take a map into our hand, and cast a glance upon the vast extent of country possessed by these barbarians, compared with the narrow neck of land, called Italy; and recollect the habits and dispositions of the inhabitants of that immense

territory, who were as superior in real courage to their oppressors, (had the latter been divested of that military art which constituted, what may be called, their fated armour,) as the cowardice of the Romans conceived them to be in strength and stature; and then call to mind the long series of insults and wrongs inflicted by their unfeeling and haughty tyrants, we shall bethink ourselves of motives more worthy the dignity of human nature, and of an avenging Providence, than an unnecessary struggle for room and food. The ultimate union of the oppressed, and the common appellation they assumed, contradict so ridiculous a supposition. They beheld their neighbours, once their brethren, enslaved and oppressed, and they feared a like fate, to which, it seems, they preferred death itself. They, therefore, from the remotest parts of their territories, leagued for the double purpose of avenging past, and averting future injuries. They united together again, as they had previously done under the noble Arminius[1], and sunk their peculiar appellations under the common name of *Allemanni*—*All*-men. They resolved to liberate themselves and be freemen; they confederated, therefore, under that designation, and were Franci. They fought; how long, with what various success, and with what ultimate effects, it is needless to relate. But whatever motives might mingle with their one general intent, or however the impulse which urged them to the field of battle, might have been varied by successive events; it was a nobler cause than a struggle for the means of subsistence, which prompted those efforts so fatal to Rome, but which, ultimately, won the liberty, and promoted the happiness, of the world.

[1] Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. i., p. 42.

(5) It is not meant to argue, that in this period of universal war and bloodshed, the causes now mentioned were the only, or, in all instances, the predominating, motives: such, however, had been the conduct of the Romans in every part of the then known world, that it is difficult to imagine their absence in any considerable attack upon that empire. The Goths, for instance, whose irruption was so fatal to Rome, and so important in its consequences to Europe, sprung perhaps originally from Scandinavia, but they gathered in their march, probably, still greater numbers, who had suffered from Roman oppression[1], and who hailed their triumphs as a common benefit[2]. In their progress southward, this mighty swarm gave abundant proofs, that it was neither for that food which is the result of industry, nor for the room which such industry requires, that they sought. They passed through the most beautiful and fertile regions, without a thought, as it would seem, of possessing them permanently. Notwithstanding these inducements to settle, the Goths, as Gibbon observes, still adhered to a life of idleness, of poverty, and of rapine[3]. They were allured by the neighbourhood of the Roman Empire, rich, indeed, in every thing but human beings; which, notwithstanding the geometric theory, assisted by a stream of emigration from all countries, and especially of slaves, who were successively acquiring freedom, was rapidly dwindling in its population, and consequently in its strength. They defeated the Romans, but they fought not for room, and were therefore appeased by a great booty, a vast number of prisoners, whom they doubtless enslaved, and by an annual pay-

[1] Gibbon, vol. i., p. 396. [2] Turner, Hist. of the Anglo-Saxon, vol. i., p. 131. [3] vol. i., p. 396.

ment of a large sum of gold[1]. They settled awhile in the Ukraine; but, impatient of inglorious ease, they seized upon one of the Roman tributary kingdoms, the Bosphorus. The conquerors did not still, we are told, content themselves with "a superfluous waste of fertile soil"[2], they depended on rapine, and by the acquisition of this principally subsisted. In different expeditions they took, and seized the wealthy spoils of, Colchis and Chalcedon, and ravaging Athens and Greece, approached Italy, which country the divisions of their chieftains probably saved. They were at length vanquished, but escaped destruction. But it deserves notice, that the numbers that formed the last of their expeditions, and that achieved the greatest of their exploits, were originally, at most, only fifteen thousand!

(6) The various nations of Germany and Sarmatia, who fought under the Gothic standard, formed another expedition, which the fears of the empire exaggerated into 320,000 barbarians. As it is known, however, that they brought their families, or, in other words, their women[3], and consequently children, with them; supposing we take the number as correct, which Gibbon represents as grossly exaggerated, what is it but the average population of a single English county, warring against the Roman Empire? These, the superior science of the Romans subdued, but the pestilence which ensued, in which the victorious Emperor himself fell, was more fatal to them than defeat. Afterwards, as the hopes and chances from war and plunder had decreased, the Goths accepted of the province of Dacia, which was very inadequately peopled by the Romans; and resigning themselves at last to the

[1] Gibbon, vol. i., p. 406. [2] Ibid., p. 423. [3] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 13.

peaceful pursuits of agriculture, never found themselves, probably, confined in so little room, nor ever possessing such abundance of food. Fifty years later, this people, reinforced by Sarmatians, fought with Constantine; but as the war had none of the characters of a hostile migration, it hardly need be adduced. They continued, however, to advance in power and influence, by the arts of civilization, as the Romans themselves had done before, till their influence extended over a considerable part of Germany and Scythia. But they too weakened their power by becoming tyrants, as well as conquerors[1]. Ambitious projects now dazzled them, and 30,000 men marched into the Roman territories. They were ultimately defeated; but neither can this, in any possible view of the subject, be deemed the struggle in question. We learn from the terms of the peace then agreed upon, that their condition was much improved with their settlement: they had contracted a taste, not only for the comforts, but for the luxuries of life; and had begun to obtain them through commerce. These, therefore, in their turn became rich, and were consequently an object of plunder.

(7) At this period was it, that a people called the Huns made their appearance on the stage of the world; they came, probably, from a very distant region, Eastern Tartary, and had not wandered, therefore, so far for want of room. But it is less our purpose to inquire into their origin, than their situation and circumstances at the time when they appeared. They were migratory warriors, and their habits were nomadic; they moved their entire community at once; and, in a word, they were precisely what the Goths had been a few generations before, and inspired the same terror

[1] Gibbon, vol. iv., p. 372.

with which the latter had struck the Romans, accompanied by the same creative fears, which invested them with superhuman strength, and exaggerated their numbers. They too gathered force, like every other irruption, as they passed along. They did, therefore, what it will be generally found such have done in those ages of the world, however inferior in numbers—they conquered. But the term of their triumph was short, and none succeeded them to continue their career, or to perpetuate the struggle, not for room and food, but for domination and plunder. Their sudden power passed away with their great leader, Attila; and his authority was dissipated and soon reverted to the neighbouring states. But it had sufficed, however, to dispossess the Goths of the country in which they were settled; and they passed over the Danube to the number of 200,000 warriors, perhaps quadruple that number of individuals. Mœsia received them, where they were subjected to the most intolerable oppression and treachery, and, consequently, took up arms and conquered their tyrants, and retaliated. They were reinforced by the other great tribe of the Gothic nation, and even by those from whose irruption they had retreated. Still, they professed a wish only to be relieved from their intolerable oppressions, and to inhabit the vacant lands of Thrace[1]; and vacant lands indeed there were, in every direction, even in the heart of the western empire[2]. These requests were rejected with disdain; a contest ensued, and Valens and his army perished. After an unsuccessful reconnoitre of Constantinople, they retired, spread themselves, and settled awhile in the fruitful plains south of the Danube, as far as the frontiers of Italy and the Adriatic sea.

[1] Gibbon, vol. iv., p. 403. [2] Ammianus, xxxi., 9.

(8) All this while there was plenty of room. St. Jerome describes mankind as almost exterminated, and the earth as again returning to uncultivated wastes and inextricable wilds and forests[1]. But still, it was manifest that it was neither room nor food the barbarians sought. The leaders of the Ostrogoths, who were, for several years, moving amongst the northern nations, returned with accumulated force, after having broken the peace they had concluded with the western Emperor, and fell upon the eastern; when Theodosius, by stratagem, gained a complete triumph. The remainder were planted in Phrygia and Lydia. The ravages of war and tyranny had provided, says Gibbon, many large tracts of fertile but uncultivated land, for the use of those barbarians who might not disdain the practice of agriculture[2]. But, so far were they from fighting for these, that it was never, till they were defeated, that they could be settled in them. Meantime, the murder of their youth, which had been committed as hostages to the Emperor, had been perpetrated; and the fall of the empire was again only postponed, for awhile, by the intestine divisions of its justly exasperated enemies.

(9) From this period, the history of the Goths need hardly to be adverted to. The career of their royal leader, Alaric, is universally known; but, in no one circumstance, either in reference to the origin of his irruption, its conduct, or its consequences, is there the least indication that his efforts were a struggle for subsistence; the exploits of Alexander the Great might just as well be attributed to the like cause. On the contrary, he never seemed to have an idea of retaining the conquests which he had made; and the

[1] Vol. iv., p. 413. [2] Ibid., p. 433.

fruitful plains of Italy were so imperfectly possessed, that a law was made by which the lands, left without inhabitants or cultivation, were granted, with diminished taxes, to the neighbours who should occupy, or the strangers who should remove to them[1]. Of Alaric, it may perhaps be said, that few conquerors, provoked and excited as he was, were less vindictive. His ranks, probably never exceedingly numerous, were reinforced by the liberation of those whom the Romans had kept in merciless thraldom; and, to a vast proportion of the inhabitants, his conquests were perhaps an essential blessing. Thrice had he Rome in his power; and when, at length, he took it, the world beheld the difference between a conquering Roman in the best days of the republic, and a victorious "barbarian." Probably, much of the blood spilt on that memorable occasion, was shed by the enfranchised slaves, (of which miserable class there were 40,000 in the city,) in vengeance of the cruel wrongs to which they had been long subjected[2]. The memorable proclamation of Alaric, on entering the city, forbade all murderous excesses; and it is confidently asserted, that one senator alone suffered. Nor did the conqueror even seize upon the lands of conquered Italy.

(10) The character of these Gothic wars henceforth changed. The sword was no longer the chief check in keeping down the supposed superfluous numbers. It is useless, therefore, to pursue the history of that people, further than merely to observe, that their later contests are less reconcileable to the idea that they struggled for room, than even their former ones. In a word, the wars of the Romans on their parental tribes in the north of Europe, had as close a

[1] Vol. v., p. 335. [2] Ibid., p. 312.

connexion with the principle of population, as had the retaliation of these tribes on the southern provinces of the empire, and on Italy itself.

(11) But the illustration is brought still nearer to our times, and home to our own country. The landing of the Saxons, in their three long vessels, on the British coast, and the subsequent attacks of the Danes, or Northmen, who, with the naval Saxons, so long ravaged Europe, are charged upon the same principle. I shall not repeat, in reply, the substance of what has been previously advanced. These irruptions did not proceed from over-populated countries, nor did they consist of numerous bodies, though we have reason to believe that they comprehended almost the entire martial population of their respective countries; which were, therefore, left almost desolate, excepting that a stripe of inhabitants remained on the sea coasts. These depredations continued till the hopes of plunder had abated, from its having become exhausted, or the difficulties of obtaining it had become insuperable. I shall, therefore, conclude my observations upon these naval maraudings, in the language of one peculiarly well qualified to judge on this subject. "The Normans," says Montesquieu, "who, in some measure, "resembled the conquerors of the Empire, ravaged "France for several centuries; and when, at last, they "could find no more booty, they thought fit to accept "of a desolated province, and parcelled it out into "several properties."

(12) As to the effects which were produced in different invaded countries by their expeditions, which some regard as a proof of the great numbers engaged in them, the history of the world sufficiently disproves the idea. The author just quoted well observes it to be "remarkable that the weakest nations have been

"those that have made the greatest establishments; "we should be much deceived if we judged of their "force by their conquests[1]."

(13) The fact is, there is nothing scarcely in common between a nation of migratory barbarians, and one settled and civilized; the former will, of course, bring all its strength at once into the contest, and at one point, the other perhaps not a twentieth part, and that divided; and the only hope of the latter is in the superiority of their military arts and discipline. When, therefore, we speak of large numbers as concerned in these irruptions, we connect meanings to such statements which facts cannot justify. "Speaking of kings "and kingdoms," (to use Mr. Turner's words, to whose admirable history of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors I appeal on this question,) "we use words of swelling sound and "magnificent import. Splendour, extensive dominion, "pomp, power, and venerated dignity, are the majestic "images which arise in our minds when we hear of "thrones. But we must dismiss from our thoughts "the fascinating appendages of modern royalty, when "we contemplate the petty sovereigns of the north. "Some of their kingdoms may have equalled an Eng-"lish county in extent, but many would not have "rivalled our hundreds. If we call to our recollection "the regions about the Niger, and survey, in Mr. "Parke's narrations, the little potentates he visited, "we shall have more reasonable notions of the majesty "of the Baltic[2]."

(14) But let me repeat, in concluding this argument, that I am not denying that the human race, when thinly scattered, and exposed to considerable privations, is not highly prolific; I assert the contrary;

[1] Montesquieu, Rise and Decay, ch. xx.

[2] Turner, History of the Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii., p. 36.

but I do deny that the inhabitants of the North had ever become so populous in the regions which they possessed as to call for the sword to thin their superfluous numbers, or conquer for them the space and means necessary for their subsistence.

(15) As, however, there is so wide and irreconcileable a difference between the opinion of the author I have principally had in view (Mr. Malthus) and my own on this subject; and feeling a proper deference for those whose learning and researches qualify them so fully for determining this disputed point; I shall appeal to authorities, whose capacity and industry none can doubt, and whose impartiality on this point it is impossible to impeach, because their opinion was delivered before the dispute grounded upon the facts had been started. I conceive that, in quoting Mallet as the profound writer on those northern nations whence these irruptions sprang, on the one hand; and on the other, Montesquieu and Gibbon, as the learned historians of the event to which these invasions so greatly contributed, namely, the fall of the Roman empire, few will be disposed to question the propriety of the appeal. The former, then, says, "For my part, I have not been able "to discover any proofs that their emigrations ever "proceeded from WANT OF ROOM at home; on the "contrary, I find enough to convince me that their "country could easily have received an additional num- "ber of inhabitants. When Alboin formed the pro- "ject of leading the Lombards into Italy, he demanded "auxiliaries from the Saxons, his allies. Twenty "thousand Saxons, with their wives and children, ac- "companied the Lombards into Italy; and the kings "of France sent colonies of Swabians, to occupy the "country which the Saxons had left desert. Thus we

" see that the Saxons, who are thought to have been " the most numerous people of Germany, could not " send forth this feeble swarm, without depopulating " their own country. But this is not all. The twenty " thousand Saxons, disagreeing with the Lombards, " quitted Italy, and returned back (undiminished in " number) into their own country, which they found " possessed by the Swabians above-mentioned. This " presently gave rise to a war, which, as an ancient his- " torian assures us, demonstrated to the Saxons, that " both nations might easily share the country among " them, and live all of them in it very commodiously. I " have no doubt that there were throughout all Saxony, " as well as Scandivania, vast tracts of land which lay " in their original uncultivated state. Let any one " read the description which Adam of Bremen gives " of Denmark in the eleventh century, and he will be " convinced that the coasts alone were peopled, but " that the interior parts formed one vast forest. Let " any one judge after this, whether it was always from " the superfluity of its inhabitants, as has been fre- " quently asserted, that the North poured forth its " torrents upon the countries they overwhelmed[1]." I beg to refer the reader to the whole of the chapter of his work, whence the above extract is taken, as perfectly conclusive of the point at issue.

(16) Montesquieu, in his Rise and Decay of the Roman Empire, likewise denies the supposition, that it was from a superfluity in human fecundity that the north sent forth the expeditions which were one means of destroying that empire. For the irruptions of the northern nations, as they are termed, and for their having ceased, he advances a reason, which, like every thing that he wrote, as originating in serious consi-

[1] Mallet, Northern Antiquities, vol. i., c. 10, p. 296.

deration, is deserving of it. He says, "the violences "of the Romans had made the people of the south "retire into the north; while the force that confined "them subsisted, they remained there; when it was "weakened, they dispersed themselves again into all "parts." And he gives similar instances in later times. This was, doubtless, one of the causes of these irruptions, though not the only one, and I reserved it for this place, in order to present it in his own terms. The fact he states is undeniable; had we no proofs of it but the very nature and conduct of Roman warfare, these would be abundantly sufficient. Those countries which submitted to them they enslaved, seizing most of their lands[1], and subjected them to such intolerable exactions, that many of the inhabitants fled out of the reach of their oppressors. Those nations which, in behalf of their liberty, resisted their invasions, they dealt with more severely. They slaughtered the warriors who fell into their hands; enslaved their women and children; or drove them wholly out of their own country, and boasted of the deserts they had created. Multitudes, therefore, in their unceasing attacks, doubtless took refuge within the Rhine and Danube, which were for some time considered as the boundaries of their empire; concealed themselves within the gloomy forests of that immense tract, still retaining a keen and hereditary hatred of their enemy, and reserving themselves for the opportunity of manifesting it. The countries west and south of those limits were, therefore, left desolate, or but very scantily inhabited. When these boundaries were left inadequately defended, the evacuated countries were repossessed; and the nearer neighbourhood to their proud oppressor shewed at once her weakness and her wealth, and

[1] Montesquieu, Causes, &c., c. xvi.

excited often the incensed warriors to further designs than that of repossessing a devastated country. On a bold expression of Montesquieu, simply implying, that, driven into the northern wilds, where they made a final stand, they maintained themselves till the power was weakened which confined them in that region, Mr. Malthus is witty, and his wit is, as usual, unfortunate. Montesquieu's explanation never supposes that the inhabitants driven over the Rhine or the Danube, and having still a space of prolific country, which, after all, it was impossible for them to occupy, "apt for corn and full of cattle," would have to subsist, with the most patient fortitude, on air and ice for some hundreds of years, till they could return to their own homes, and resume their usual more substantial modes of subsistence[1]. This imagination is not Montesquieu's; the latter never represents the north as over-peopled, but merely, that to nations cruelly deprived of their native territories, and confined to less congenial ones, the opportunity of repossessing their own, especially when almost vacant of intruders, would not be neglected.

(17) I shall conclude with a quotation from Gibbon, in which he seems to have summed up, with the utmost care, the whole dispute, after having delivered a similar judgment in various other parts of his work. "The same extent of ground," says that writer, "which "at present maintains, in ease and plenty, a million "of husbandmen and artificers, was unable to supply "a hundred thousand lazy warriors with the simple "necessaries of life. The Germans abandoned their "immense forests to the exercise of hunting, employed "in pasturage the most considerable part of their "lands, bestowing on the remainder a rude and care-"less cultivation, and then accused the scantiness and

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 76.

"sterility of a country which refused to maintain the "multitude of its inhabitants. When the return of "famine severely admonished them of the importance "of the arts, the national distress was sometimes alle- "viated by the emigration of a third, perhaps, or a "fourth part of their youth. The possession and the "enjoyment of property are the pledges which bind a "civilized people to an improved country. But the "Germans, who carried with them what they most "valued, their arms, their cattle, and their women, "cheerfully abandoned the vast solitude of their woods, "for the unbounded hopes of plunder and conquest. "The innumerable swarms that issued, or seemed to "issue, from the great storehouse of nations, were "multiplied by the fears of the vanquished, and by "the credulity of succeeding ages. And from facts "thus exaggerated, an opinion was gradually esta- "blished, and has been supported by authors of a dis- "tinguished reputation, that in the age of Cæsar and "Tacitus, the inhabitants of the north were far more "numerous than they are in our days. A more "serious inquiry into the causes of population, seems "to have convinced modern philosophers of the false- "hood, and indeed, the impossibility, of the suppo- "sition[1]."—Thus much for "the nonsense written about the northern hive[2]."

[1] Gibbon, vol. i. pp. 359, 360, 361. [2] Dr. Clarke, Travels in Scandinavia.

☞ It was my first intention to have completed, in this part of the work, the refutation of the theory of superfecundity as founded upon human experience, by pursuing the argument of the principal advocate of that notion in its appeals to the modern history and state of the world; but, on further consideration, I shall postpone that part of my subject, till I have enunciated and proved what I conceive to be the true law of population; as, though I hold that a view of the effect of increasing or diminishing numbers in every existing country, will clearly refute the principle against which I am contending, it will still more strongly illustrate and prove that which it is the far more important purpose of this treatise to establish. The consideration of the question, therefore, in reference to the present condition of the different states of the world, especially those which Mr. Malthus has particularized, will be resumed in the Fifth Book of this treatise.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF THE OPINIONS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS AND LEGISLATORS OF ANTIQUITY, CONCERNING THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION.—PLATO.

(1) In this appeal to ancient history on the subject of the principle of population, a just exposition of the views of legislators and philosophers of early times cannot be misplaced, especially as the inquiry will terminate, it is hoped, in delivering some of the brightest names of antiquity from the foulest aspersion that can be cast upon human beings, the supposition of their having deliberately and systematically enjoined infanticide.

(2) One of the most judicious of our writers, Dr. Paley, says, that "the influence of names is in exact proportion to the want of knowledge[1]"—an aphorism which, though it may more frequently be an apology for the indolence than a spur to the industry of the human mind, and give far oftener presumption to conceited ignorance, than confidence to real knowledge, is, nevertheless, under certain limitations, undoubtedly true, especially in matters open to general observation and experience. As to the subject of population, at all events, it must be presumed that the longer the world has endured, the more perfectly must it have become known; and it seems, therefore, somewhat to reverse the order of things, to seek for proofs of its nature and effects, or the opinions of mankind regarding them, as far back as nearly two thousand years.

[1] Paley, Moral Philosophy, Pref., xvi.

I am, however, perfectly willing to remit the appeal which the present argument involves, to the knowledge and experience of any preceding period of history, however near, or however remote; being firmly convinced that the divine apophthegm, "it is not good for man to be alone," will be as true to the last, as it was in the first, and has been in every stage of human existence.

(3) The principal antagonist of human increase, referring to the philosophers and legislators of ancient times, omits all mention of those who, he knows, do not concur with him, and quotes those only, who, he supposes, do. The institutions of Confucius[1] and Zoroaster[2], which, we are instructed to believe, had an especial view to the encouragement of population, and which have continued to influence an almost incalculably greater number of human beings, than those to which he has referred, are, therefore, left unnoticed; even the authority of the greatest political philosopher, (to say nothing of his more sacred pretensions,) which the world ever beheld, Moses, is not once glanced at, while the opinions, or rather reveries, of one or two of those, who are denominated the "thinking men of Greece," are brought forward, and, as I shall prove, grossly misinterpreted, in order to represent antiquity as fully imbued with the belief, that the principle of population had an evil tendency to increase. To redeem, then, these authorities, who are certainly amongst the most celebrated of antiquity, from the imputation of holding the most erroneous views, and most heinous doctrines, regarding this subject; and, at the same time, to deliver the true principle of population from the disadvantage of their

[1] See Du Halde, &c.
[2] Zoroaster abhorred celibacy. Gibbon, vol. i., p. 324.

supposed hostility, is the purport of the present chapter. But in order to this, I must first take a summary view of the political condition of the states of ancient Greece.

(4) The republics of Greece, constituting what are now generally denominated the free states of antiquity, were, at the period when their legislators and philosophers flourished, in the possession, principally, of the descendants of colonists and conquerors, who, having subdued the original inhabitants, reduced them to the condition of abject slavery[1]. The latter, vastly the most numerous body, the original and rightful possessors of the soil[2]; of the same complexion and speaking often the same language, and consequently identified in their origin[3], were, nevertheless deprived of all political existence whatever; and, instead of possessing any property, were themselves, individually and universally, the property of others. The recollection of their past condition, (and some of them had been of the most exalted rank,) or any recognition that they had feelings and rights as human beings, little encumbered the politicians of Greece. It is utterly impossible, therefore, to describe the treatment these unhappy beings often received; not only was all the drudgery of existence imposed upon them, whether that of agriculture or the mechanical arts, but they were, in some of the states, subject to the caprice or cruelty of masters, whose atrocities regarding them have left no parallel in human history. And still it is from viewing the institutions of Greece, that declaimers can rave about human rights, and infidels cant about moral systems, which are to disparage Christianity. If such a people had

[1] Thucyd., l. i., c. 101.
[2] Gillies, Hist. Greece, vol. i., p. 157.
[3] Mitford, Hist. Greece, vol. ii., p. 81. Thucyd., l. i., c. 101.

really held the notion of the natural redundancy of human beings, it would have suited their political code and conduct, and formed, I think, but a very suspicious argument in its favour. But I deny the assumption altogether.

(5) The successors, then, of these colonists and conquerors, owned the property of the entire country, which was, in each state, parcelled out amongst them, either originally, or, at subsequent periods, according to the number of the citizens; reserving, however, a considerable quantity, perhaps, unappropriated, as a common stock [1]. Now, as a share of this property constituted the only means of subsistence, (for the "thinking persons of Greece" rejected all personal industry with a view to obtaining a livelihood, whether mechanical or agricultural [2], as positively infamous; an opinion fully sanctioned by both Plato [3] and Aristotle [4], in their imaginary Republics,) the necessity they were under of keeping the population, as much as possible, at one level, is instantly obvious. Had the citizens multiplied beyond the number of their allotments, the excess would have been unprovided for; had they fallen far short of the latter, the state would have become weakened and endangered. Hence arose the care of their lawgivers, and the expedients of their philosophers, on the subject of population. But, although both alternatives were anticipated by them, and corrections prescribed for each, agreeably to the pernicious principle of their entire system, still I will venture to assert, that their great anxiety was about a ruinous diminution, rather than a pernicious increase, of their citizens; and tenfold

[1] Aristot., De Repub., l. ii., c. 11.
[2] Bacon's Essays, Works, vol. i., p. 327.
[3] Plato, De Legibus, l. ii., and l. vii.
[4] Aristotle, De Repub., l. iii., c. 5., p. 344, A. Ibid., l. vii., c. 10. (437, D.)

more precautions were dictated with reference to the former, than to the latter case.

(6) Such was the basis of their political philosophy, though it may well be doubted whether this equality was ever fully realized; if it were, it is quite clear it was of no permanent continuance. Notwithstanding all their precautions, property accumulated in the hands of some citizens, others fell into decay; the latter had, therefore, to be sustained out of the public stock[1]; and partly, perhaps, by the munificence of the wealthy[2]. In this state of things, it is easy to conclude, that both these ranks, comprehending the whole body of the people, would be generally averse from any increase in the numbers of the freemen. But the learned historian of Greece, who entirely confirms the preceding view of the subject, has so well described the feelings and interests of the citizens under these circumstances, that I shall conclude this hasty introduction to the question at issue in his words. Alluding to Xenophon, he says: "the increase of "citizens, the only secure and effective strength of a "state, appears to be totally out of his consideration. "But from all the remaining writers of the age we "may gather, that the spirit of every Grecian govern-"ment, whether oligarchy or democracy, was generally "adverse to an increase of citizens: for every citi-"zen having an interest in a certain public capital, "increase of citizens was increase of partners. Un-"less the danger was pressing, the general disposition, "therefore, was always adverse to an increase. The "rich disliked it, as our parishes commonly dislike "any increase in their respective inhabitants; because

[1] Mitford, History of Greece, vol. iii., p. 21.

[2] Isocrates, Oratio Areop., pp. 291. Demosthenes. Leland, vol. i., pp 222, 223, 224, 225.

"there was a poor-law in Athens. The poor objected "to it because it would diminish their chance of sub- "sistence from sacrifices; from treats of their ward "from pay for attending at tribunals; from that "public allowance which was often given, not to "those who best deserved or most needed it, but to "those who could best make interest for it. Alto- "gether, the idea of a common interest in a common "stock, a fundamental principle in every Grecian "republic, not only made the aversion to every in- "crease of citizens popular, but gave the ablest poli- "ticians (all considering slaves indispensable) to "imagine the necessity of limiting the number of "slaves to a very scanty proportion[1]." Not the least evidence have we here that they had any idea that human increase, if not restrained, would press too much against the means of subsistence, but merely against their inveterate habits of sloth and cupidity; whereas, justifying the observation with which Mitford commences the passage just quoted, such increase would have saved them from present evils and final ruin.

(7) Mr. Malthus, however, takes a totally different view of the whole matter. He says, "the necessity "of these frequent colonizations," (which necessity, we have already shewn, never existed,) "joined to the "smallness of the states, which brought the subject "immediately home to every thinking person, could "not fail to point out to the legislators and philoso- "phers of these times, the strong tendency of popu- "lation to increase beyond the means of subsistence, "and they did not, like the statesmen and projectors of "modern days, overlook the consideration of a ques- "tion which so deeply affects the tranquillity and "happiness of society. However we may justly exe-

[1] Mitford, History of Greece, vol. iii., p. 15.

"crate the barbarous expedients which they adopted "to remove the difficulty, we cannot but give them "some credit for their penetration in seeing it, and "in being fully aware, that, if not considered and "obviated, it would be sufficient of itself to destroy "their best planned schemes of republican equality "and happiness[1]." He goes on to shew that colonization was a very inadequate remedy for the evil[2], but says of the practice of infanticide, that "it would "appear to be very particularly calculated,—to pre- "serve, as completely and as constantly as the nature "of the thing would permit, the requisite proportion "between the food and the numbers which were to "consume it[3]." He assures us, likewise, that the Greek writers strongly insist on the very great necessity of preserving this proportion[4]. We shall see, anon, what little foundation there is for this statement.

(8) In meeting the preceding assertions relative to the opinions of the "thinking men of Greece," on the subject of population, I shall first advert a moment to the crime of infanticide, which, under certain circumstances, was tolerated, till, as Gibbon acknowledges, it was finally repressed by Christianity[5]. Never, however, was it resorted to as a remedy for an excessive population; on the contrary, it has always prevailed most when mankind have been the fewest in number, and the most thinly scattered abroad; and has diminished as population has increased and accumulated. Another singular and melancholy proof, that this crime has rarely had the apology of being instigated by extreme want and wretchedness, will be adverted to hereafter.

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 163.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid., p. 164.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Gibbon, Decline, vol. viii., p. 56, 57.

(9) I am not, therefore, disposed to doubt Mr. Malthus's supposition, that the practice of indiscriminate infanticide might have prevailed in the remote and barbarous periods of Grecian history; but the circumstance of succeeding legislators having imposed limitations upon that practice, and, especially, the nature of those limitations, fully prove that he has totally misrepresented their views as to the principle of population. If, for instance, the custom was generally tolerated in Lacedæmon, previously to the legislation of Lycurgus, his confining it to the case of impotent and deformed births, of which, in the state of society he instituted, it may be doubted whether there would be many in a century, must have had the direct (and, why should we not believe, intentional?) effect of all but annihilating the crime. Precisely the same may be asserted regarding the legislation of ancient Rome in this respect. That, again, confined infanticide to the imperfect and deformed; and it was to be perpetrated at such an age (that of three years), and under such circumstances (in the presence of six neighbours), that it is morally impossible, so far as the law was operative, but that it must have totally repressed the horrible custom under consideration. The legislators of some countries went yet further; those of the Thebans, for instance:—they expressly forbade the exposure of any, on pain of death; upon the wise principle, that even the feeblest and the most imperfect, though not so valuable as the more robust, were still worth preserving to the state; and, consequently, due provision was made for them [1].

(10) I believe the preceding views are correct; at all events, they are in unison with those of all who had

[1] Ælian, Var. Hist., l. ii., c. 7.

heretofore alluded to the subject; none of whom discovered, in the legislators of antiquity, even supposing that they did tolerate infanticide to the extent that I have admitted, any idea of repressing population in so doing. On the contrary, Plutarch expressly attributes to this law of Lycurgus, the design to perpetuate a strong and vigorous race[1]. Touching those few that might, under such a regulation, be permitted to be exposed, it possibly might be thought, as Archbishop Potter supposes, that "it was neither for the public interest, nor for the happiness "of the children themselves, that they should be "brought up," when so afflicted[2]. And, as a last proof that those who entertained these views had not the least reference to the repression of population, I will quote the philosopher and moralist, Seneca. He lived when the population of Rome was evidently declining, and himself observed the fact[3]; and yet he deliberately approves of the practice of exposing sickly and infirm children[4].

(11) If, then, the permission in question, circumscribed as it evidently was, constituted no proof whatever that the legislators of antiquity "saw the necessity of checking the principle of increase[5]," who shall deny but that their positive institutions manifestly proved that they saw it necessary to promote it? The latter may be asserted with equal and entire truth of them all. Cecrops instituted that great source of human increase, marriage[6]. Lycurgus and Solon rendered it penal not to enter into that state. "The former," as Addison remarks, "did all he could to encourage mar-

[1] Plutarch, Vit. Lycurg.
[2] Potter, Archæologia Græca, vol. ii., p. 233.
[3] Seneca, Consol., c. vi.
[4] Ibid., De Ira, l. i., c. 15.
[5] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 167.
[6] Potter, Archæol. Græc., vol. i., p. 8.

" riage, knowing that the wealth and strength of a re-
" public consisted in the multitude of citizens[1]," —views in which we may be certain the latter fully concurred. Hence both inflicted galling disabilities on those who refused or postponed obedience to the laws in this respect, and visited a state of celibacy with derision and infamy, or, in other words, with direct punishment[2]. Roman legislation proceeded, from first to last, upon the same principle. And yet, in neither case, were these institutions sufficient ultimately to preserve the proper number of the citizens. And the " thinking persons " of both Greece and Rome, must have been ignorant of all existing facts, as well as dead to human feelings, if, under such circumstances, they could have seen so clearly the necessity of repressing population.

(12) The principles of ancient philosophy, also, precisely coincided with those of legislation, on this point. Pythagoras, whom we should probably regard as one of the most exalted of the philosophers of antiquity, had we sufficient means of estimating his doctrines and character, connected, we are told, the duty of marriage, as he did all others, immediately with the Supreme Being: " that men," said he, " may perpetuate worshippers of the Deity[3]! " I shall not, however, attempt an enumeration of authorities, but proceed at once to consider the opinions of two of the most celebrated, and, upon this subject, the most misrepresented, philosophers of antiquity on the important question before us—I refer, of course, to Plato and Aristotle.

(13) First, then, as it respects Plato. This philosopher has left us in his two works, his Republic, and

[1] Addison, Guardian, No. 100.
[2] Potter, Archæol. Græc., vol. ii., p. 264.
[3] Iamblichus, Pythag. Vit., c. xviii. Life of Pythag., M. Dacier, p. 91.

his Laws, sketches of two republican constitutions (for the philosophers of antiquity were all constitution-mongers) exceedingly different from each other; the latter containing some recognition of the principles of morality and common sense; but the former being, probably, as great an outrage upon both, as ever emanated from any human being, and fully justifying the epithet Hume applied to it; namely, "the ravings of Plato." I have sometimes thought, that the whole, which he himself perpetually denominates a "dream," might possibly have been a kind of satire upon the political projectors of those times, something in the manner of Burke's "Vindication of Natural Society." Be that, however, as it may, Mr. Malthus has deduced from this scheme, the idea, that Plato was fully alive to the necessity of checking population;—erroneously, as I hope to shew, and, beyond a question, most uncandidly; for he has omitted to make his deductions from the more rational theory, contained in his Book of Laws, in which he has expressed himself with far greater clearness on the subject, and has taken them from his Republic alone; though, in so doing, he has not only disregarded the order in which these works are usually published, but likewise the order of time in which, on the direct authority of Aristotle, they were written[1]. He, therefore, sums up Plato's opinions, so as to contradict his experience. But, even in respect of the work to which he particularly refers, I shall attempt to redeem the character of the philosopher from the infamy of having contemplated child-murder.

(14) Mr. Malthus thus represents the work in question. "In his philosophical republic, he enters

[1] "His Books of Laws, which were written afterwards."—Aristotle, De Repub., l. ii., c. iv.

" more particularly into the subject, and proposes,
" that the most excellent among the men should be
" joined in marriage, to the most excellent among the
" women; and the inferior citizens matched with the
" inferior females; and that the offspring of the first
" shall be brought up, and of the others not. On
" certain festivals appointed by the laws, the young
" men and women who are betrothed, are to be assem-
" bled, and joined together with solemn ceremonies.
" But the number of marriages is to be determined by
" the magistrates, that, taking into consideration the
" drains from wars, diseases, and other causes, they
" may preserve, as nearly as possible, such a propor-
" tion of citizens, as will be neither too numerous, nor
" too few, according to the resources and demands
" of the state. The children who are thus born from
" the most excellent of the citizens are to be carried
" to certain nurses destined for the office, inhabiting a
" separate part of the city; but those which are born
" from the inferior citizens, and any from the others
" which are imperfect in their limbs, are to be buried
" in some obscure and unknown place. He next pro-
" ceeds to consider the proper age for marriage, and
" determines it to be twenty for the woman, and thirty
" for the man. Beginning at twenty, the woman is
" to bear children for the state, till she is forty, and
" the man is to fulfil his duty, in this respect, from
" thirty to fifty-five. If a man produce a child into
" public, either before or after this period, the action
" is to be considered in the same criminal and profane
" light, as if he had produced one without the nup-
" tial ceremonies, and instigated solely by inconti-
" nence. The same rule should hold, if the man who
" is of proper age for procreation, be connected with
" a woman, who is also of the proper age, but without

"the ceremony of marriage by the magistrate. He "is to be considered as having given to the state a "spurious, profane, and incestuous offspring. When "both sexes have passed the age assigned for pre-"senting children to the state, Plato allows a great "latitude of intercourse, but no child is to be brought "to light. Should any infant, by accident, be born "alive, it is to be exposed in the same manner, as if "the parent could not support it." "From these pas-"sages, it is evident," continues Mr. Malthus, "that "Plato fully saw the tendency of population to in-"crease beyond the means of subsistence. His ex-"pedients for checking it are, indeed, execrable; but "the expedients themselves, and the extent to which "they were to be used, shew his conceptions of the "magnitude of the difficulty. Contemplating, as he "certainly must do in a small republic, a great pro-"portional drain of people by war, if he could still "propose to destroy the children of all the inferior "and less perfect citizens; to destroy, also, all that "were born not within the prescribed ages, and with "the prescribed forms; to fix the marriage late, and, "after all, to regulate the number of these marriages, "his experience and his reasonings must have strongly "pointed out to him the great power of the principle "of increase, and the necessity of checking it[1]."

(15) A few other regulations of this imaginary republic, which are omitted in the preceding account of it, are added, as perfectly suitable to the entire system. These select husbands and wives, who are to be united with such solemn ceremonial, are nevertheless to be in common; their children also are to be in common. With respect to the father, it is therefore clear that he cannot distinguish his own offspring;

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, pp. 165—167.

and as to the mother, the infants are to be taken from her to the public nurses immediately, that she may be placed in a similar uncertainty. They are to eat in common; to have a community of property, of goods, and even of money. They are to be virtuous, after their fashion, in this republic; there is to be no adultery, no incest, no neglect of parents[1]. A few things naturally strike one in such a proposition as this; and, first, How can "these most excellent" husbands and wives (the latter, by the bye, are to go naked) keep up the population of this city? Second, As all these women are to be in common, how is Plato to know which of their children are begotten, at least as it respects the father, within the prescribed period? Third, How is this neglect of parents to be avoided in a community where all knowledge of that relative connexion is to be purposely prevented; or how is this forbidden incest to be discovered where none shall be able to recognise their nearest relatives? This difficulty, indeed, strikes one of the interlocutors in the dialogue in which this strange scheme is propounded, and it is proposed to obviate it by calculations of the most whimsical nature; a method which seems to satisfy the querist, but which is far from pleasing Aristotle, who observes, that such uncertainty would greatly multiply and embitter the worst of crimes; love would often become incest, and murder parricide. Then, as there is to be an universal community of both goods and money, to what purpose can the latter be possibly applied in this imaginary republic? The fact is, that this dialogue of Plato is, from first to last, one of the greatest farces ever presented to the human mind, laughable in every respect, except for the indecent and atrocious wickedness it embodies.

[1] Plato, De Repub., Works, lib. iv., p. 285.

The object its author had in view, if object he had any, was perfectly remote from the idea of regulating the numbers of the people. It seems rather to be this: to found a sort of nursery for a superior race of human beings, or, to take up the figure which he adopts throughout, to improve the breed of men, just as an experimental farmer in these days selects his finest specimens of both sexes, puts them together, and, reserving the most perfect of the produce, sends the rest to the butcher. As his notions on population are supposed to be expressed in it, I shall give it a little further attention; otherwise the scheme falls infinitely short in decency, and hardly exceeds in wisdom, that of a more modern, though a more unfortunate legislator, as expounded by Shakspeare,—I mean Jack Cade. "All this realm shall be in common; and in Cheap-"side shall my palfrey go to grass. There shall be "no money: all shall eat and drink at my score; and "I will apparel them all in one livery, that they may "agree like brethren, and worship me their Lord."

(16) But before I proceed to give Plato's express opinions on the subject of population, when it will be seen how totally different they are in reality from what they are represented to have been, I shall shew, that the institutions of his imaginary republic, notwithstanding the deductions which Mr. Malthus has drawn from them, had no general reference whatsoever to that subject.

(17) And first, the regulations regarding "the most excellent men" and "most excellent women,"—terms which plainly shew that they were an exempt class, whose number was, it is granted, limited, and who were designed, as before observed, to produce a superior breed of human beings, and at the public cost, had no more reference to the principle of population, one way or other, than the institution of a

select vestry, for example, and the limitation of number composing it, has to do with the same question. On the rest of the people, who, as we gather from Aristotle's remarks, must have been vastly more numerous[1], it is plain, as the latter observes in his commentary on our author[2], that he imposed no such regulations; an omission, which would have been very speedily fatal to his commonwealth, had that principle been true, of which, it is said, Plato was so fully aware.

(18) While, therefore, the regulations respecting these public stock breeders, whatever they had been, could not have at all affected the progress of population in the mass of the community, they were of such a nature as would not have diminished even their own quota to the general increase. The limitation of periods at which the "whole herd of the guardians," as he somewhere denominates his "most excellent men," and "most excellent women," should produce offspring for the state, being 30 to 55, as it respects the males, and 20 to 40, as it respects the females, would not, as will be most fully demonstrated hereafter, have diminished their fecundity, but the reverse; a fact, of which the ancient philosophers seemed fully aware. The sole object of the regulation was to secure a more vigorous breed, by selecting the periods at which it should be produced; an idea common to their philosophy, and more especially amongst those who most favoured human increase. Plato expressly declares this to be his sole view[3]; and hence he did, indeed, somewhat postpone the nubile period, as it regarded the females, but he did not

[1] Aristotle, De Repub., l. ii., c. 4.

[2] Ibid., l. ii.

[3] He asks, How the most perfect are to be perpetuated, "From the youngest or the oldest, or from those who are most in their prime?" And answers, "From those in their prime."—De Repub., l. v.

anticipate its termination. Rare are the instances in that climate in which the female remains prolific to any thing approaching to that period[1]; and had he really recommended the births from mothers beyond that age to be destroyed, he incurred but a slight risk of encouraging actual infanticide. But these remarks are rendered unnecessary by what follows.

(19) Plato ordains, that not only the offspring of the most excellent which should be born contrary to the limitations mentioned, in point of age, or without the prescribed ceremonials on the part of the parents, but also "the children born from the inferior citizens," to use Mr. Malthus's translation, "are to be buried in some obscure and unknown place." Mr. Malthus interprets this expression to mean infanticide, and denominates the expedient to be "execrable," but contends that it shews how fully Plato understood the principle of population. I deny that the expedient meant that crime, or that the regulation had the slightest view to population.

(20) Archbishop Potter observes, that "the terms "ἐκτίθεσθαι and ἀποτίθεσθαι were used for exposing "children, leaving them in some desert place, or elsewhere, to the mercy of fortune; but that the former "expression ἐκτίθεσθαι commonly bears the milder "sense, for many thus exposed their children that "were not willing they should perish[2]," under the hope, no doubt, if not the certainty, that they would be preserved. This is, practically, the case to the present hour, and many of the most splendid charitable establishments in Europe are founded for the express purpose of affording this assistance to poverty; and I am far from rejecting the idea that something of the

[1] Dr. Holland, Travels in the Ionian Isles, p. 154.

[2] Potter, Archæologia Græca, vol. ii., p. 333.

kind was implied in the term ἐκτίθεσθαι. Now this is the very word employed in the passage alluded to; and I cannot help remarking, that in most languages, the literal terms Plato there uses, have given rise to very significant figurative ones; and particularly in a country like Greece, where the citizens existed almost in public, and on the public, if they merely implied the deprivation of citizenship that involved consequences which would indeed justify their use, and give them an emphasis unknown in other circumstances; and which, when applied to infancy, might well be confounded with their literal import. Thus I conceive the word buried might have been used figuratively, and that the expression, "not to be brought up," by no means implies that such children shall be murdered, but that they shall not be "educated," as it is sometimes translated, at the public cost, as one of the "most excellent[1]." I hope that the expression "exposed" has this signification, and merely implies the being deserted by the public, or put out, or put forth as a creature for whom no provision has been made[1], to follow, I think, the precise meaning of Plato. But it may be, perhaps, doubted, whether so "very uncertain and unresolved[2]" a writer has delivered any settled opinion on the point. The "exposition" given may, therefore, be, like its subject, doubtful. It seems the most probable, as it is certainly the most charitable, construction.

(21) I had thus satisfied myself, not merely from the terms made use of, but from considering the very structure of this imaginary Republic, when a passage occurred to me from another part of the philosopher's works, which places the subject, I think, beyond all doubt, and redeems his character from the stain of ever

[1] Plato, De Repub., l. v. [2] Hales, Orig. Mankind.

having contemplated the crime alluded to; but will, at the same time, deprive him of the honour attributed to him of having seen so clearly "the principle of population," a loss which, I think it will finally appear, his memory may sustain without permanent disadvantage.

(22) In his Timæus, the subject of his imaginary Republic is evidently resumed; the dialogue is managed by the same interlocutors, and indeed it is distinctly represented, at the very commencement, as a continuation of the former discourse. And here, happily, the exact meaning of the expressions previously used is explained at large. I shall give the original below, in this, as well as in some of the more important passages, from Aristotle also, because Mr. Malthus has questioned the correctness of some of our best translators. In the person of Socrates, he thus expresses himself, as to the point in dispute. "And "moreover, we said that the offspring of the good "must be nourished, but that of the depraved" (which Mr. Malthus has translated "the inferior citizens") "should be"—what?—murdered? no!—but "distri-"buted in another city: but when they are grown up, "we ought, after consideration, to recall the deserving, "but to send away, into the room of those who "have returned, the undeserving amongst them-"selves[1]." Thus, then, is it that Plato himself expounds his own meaning. This hiding, or burying, in an obscure place, only implies their secret removal to another city, which, as he explains in his Republic, "must be performed in such a manner, as "to escape the notice of all but the governors them-"selves; if," says he, "you would have the whole

[1] Καὶ μὴν ὥϊγε τὰ μὲν τῶν ἀγαθῶν θρεπτέον ἔφαμεν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ τῶν φαύλων εἰς τὴν ἄλλην λαθρα διαδοτέον πόλιν; ἐπουζομένων δὲ, σκοποῦντας ἀεὶ τοὺς ἀξίους πάλιν ἀνάγειν δεῖν; τοὺς δὲ παρὰ σφίσιν αναξίους, εἰς τὴν ἐπανιόντων χώραν μεταλλάττειν.—Plato, Timæus.

" herd of the guardians to be as free from sedition as possible [1]." Thus we find, that their restoration under improved behaviour, or, if it must be a burial, their political resurrection, is fully provided for. How is this reconcileable with infanticide ?

(23) Nor, had Plato never written his Timæus, or any work subsequently to his Republic, ought the idea, of his having prescribed the practice of infanticide, to all but the select class of his citizens, to have been entertained. The very book from which this notion is professedly derived, negatives it. In this work, he says, " if any descendant of the guardians " be depraved, he ought to be dismissed to the other " classes; and if any descendant of the others be " worthy, he ought to be raised to the rank of guar- " dians." How was this to be effected, if the posterity of the select alone were to be allowed to live ? The wildest ravings of Bedlam are consistency itself, compared with the notions of Plato upon this subject, as expounded by our anti-populationists. But I think it will now appear abundantly plain, that it was the principle of selection, and not that of population, to which Plato attended, in every part of the institutions of his first imaginary Republic.

(24) But Plato had certain opinions regarding population, which I now proceed to give, and these are expressed in his Book of Laws, a work which, as before observed, was written after his Republic, and greatly preferred to it by Aristotle. In this, his second institution, as the latter observes, " he leaves " population unlimited, saying that deaths and bar- " renness are found, by experience, to keep the popu- " lousness of most countries, at different periods, " nearly upon the same level [2]." If this is other than

[1] Plato, De Repub.

[2] Aristotle, De Repub., l. ii., c. 4.

a literal representation of Plato's language, it has the additional force of presenting us with the convictions of Aristotle, in his paraphrase of the passage. But this was Plato's deliberate and repeated opinion: hence he says, in his Timæus, "It may be truly "asserted, that in those places, where neither intense "cold, nor immoderate heat prevails," (in other words, in those climates most congenial to human beings,) "the race of mankind is always preserved, though "sometimes the number of individuals is increased, "and sometimes suffers considerable diminution[1]." That his philosophy or experience led him to anticipate the latter rather than the former circumstance, in his second Republic, is most evident from the far greater care he manifests to force, rather than to repress, population. It is true, that he would have the magistrates to take heed, that the shares of his citizens, namely, 5040, should not be exceeded by the number of claimants, but his principal anxiety is, lest the latter become fewer than the former. Under this apprehension, he proposes to make the duty of marriages, as established by law, more imperative, imposing great and increasing pecuniary penalties upon those who disobey it, as well as loading them with infamy[2]. Other regulations are also prescribed; for instance, "If such as are without children, or have "but few, disagree, let them be compelled to marry

[1] Plato, Timæus.

[2] But he who cannot willingly be persuaded to act in this manner, but lives in the city alienated, without connection, and unmarried, for five and thirty years, such a man shall be fined every year. And if he possesses the largest estate, he shall be fined 100 drachms; if that which is second in order, 70; if that which is third, 60; and if that which is fourth, 30 drachms. Let all these fines be sacred to Juno. And let him that does not pay his fine every year, be made a debtor of ten times that sum. Let this money, too, be exacted by the dispensator of the goddess, which, unless he exacts, he himself shall be the debtor. He, therefore, who is unwilling to marry, shall be thus punished with respect to fine; but with respect to honour, as follows:—In the first place, let him be deprived, &c.—Plato, De Legibus.

" again, for the sake of procreating children. If a " woman die and have no children, let the husband " be compelled to marry again, till he has procreated " children sufficient both for his family and the city. " If a man dies, and leaves behind a sufficient num- " ber of children, let the mother educate them, re- " maining a widow; if she appears, however, to be " too young to live in a state of health, without a " husband, let her kindred, in conjunction with the " women who take care of marriages, consult what is " fit to be done, both for her and her children. And, " if both are in want of children, let them marry for " the sake of children. But, let an accurate number " of children be male and female[1]." This last direction is repeated in his Atlanticus, where he speaks of the " especial care that there might be the same " number of men and women[2];" an unnecessary anxiety, which shews indeed, his wish, that no impediment, like that which Mr. Malthus attributes to the intentional policy of ancient philosophy, in this respect, should exist[3]; but, at the same time, manifests his ignorance of one of the first and most universal laws of nature, with regard to the very elements of human increase.

(25) Other of the provisions of this philosopher, of the same nature, might be adduced to shew that his authority might be far more justly appealed to in favour of the opinion, that human beings have a natural tendency to diminution, rather than to undue increase; but it is unnecessary. Enough, it is hoped, has been advanced, to rescue my argument from the hostility of Plato, and his character from the foulest aspersion that could be thrown upon it. His opinions,

[1] Plato, De Legibus, l. v.
[2] Idem., Atlanticus.
[3] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 167.

indeed, upon this important branch of political philosophy, do not appear to have been very distinct; but that I have not misrepresented them, I may appeal to an author who was well versed in his writings and in the present subject,—Sir Matthew Hale. "Plato," says that great man, "who seems very uncertain and "unsettled in his philosophy, seems yet to agree "with the partial exhausting of the numbers of man-"kind[1]."

[1] Hale, Origination of Mankind, pp. 217, 218.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE OPINIONS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS AND LEGISLATORS OF ANTIQUITY CONCERNING THE PRINCIPLE OF POPULATION.—ARISTOTLE.

(1) ARISTOTLE, according to the author of the essay so often quoted, saw the necessity of checking population still more clearly than Plato. I deny, however, that he, any more than the latter, entertained any such views. It is true, that in his imaginary republic (for Aristotle also amused himself with projecting constitutions), he fell into the fundamental and general error of Grecian policy, the injurious tendency of which he had nevertheless previously exposed; I mean that of ordaining that the territory should, with the exception of a reservation for public purposes, be divided into a definite number of shares, and these shares be distributed amongst the citizens, whose number was consequently to be limited[1]. This regulation, joined with the more unhappy one which prescribed that all the useful and necessary arts, even that of agriculture, should be accounted infamous, and followed by slaves only[2], closed up against freemen all those sources of subsistence which, in every well-ordered community, engage infinitely the greatest and best portion of the people, and certainly rendered it necessary to the scheme, that the privileged few should be preserved stationary in their numbers. Hence, on

[1] Aristotle, De Repub., l. iv., c. 10. [2] Ibid., c. 9.

the one hand, an excess of this population was to be guarded against, if it should occur, which Aristotle thought might be done by ecbolic arts, peremptorily interdicting, however, the expedient said to be best "calculated to attain" the end in view,—infanticide, and prescribing that "nothing that has life shall "be destroyed, excepting it be defective in its mem- "bers or grossly deformed in shape;" cases, in such a state of society, it may be presumed almost ideal. But, on the other hand, all he says relating to the duties of marriage, and the virtue of chastity, which is the most effectual promoter of the prevalence and prolificness of that state; and to the careful attention necessary for the preservation and proper education of children, is conclusive as to his views of the duty and necessity, generally speaking, of promoting human fruitfulness, even to continue the numbers of his privileged class[1].

(2) Mr. Malthus, indeed, gives, as his first and main proof that Aristotle saw the necessity of checking population, and provided for it, that he fixed the proper age of marriage at thirty-seven for the men, and eighteen for the women; which must, he adds, "condemn a great number of women to celibacy, "as there never can be so many men of thirty-seven, "as there are women of eighteen." In thus concluding, however, he is ignorant of one of the most curious of the effects of the principle of which he treats so largely, but of which, as it appears to me, Aristotle was aware. Nature is not thus to be baffled in her designs; the balance of the sexes would, under the circumstance of this habitual postponement on the part of the males, be still preserved at this unequal nubile period. But of this important fact more

[1] Aristotle, De Repub., l. iv., c. 16, 17. [2] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 167.

hereafter. In the mean time, I will just remark, that it is hardly a credible imputation upon the Stagirite, that he should, on so important a point, not only conceal his real meaning, but substitute a false one. Alluding to the periods he has prescribed, which, however, he has intimated that he does not mean should be rigidly adhered to[1], he says expressly, "such seasonable marriages will, for the most part, "be soon productive of progeny[2];" whereas, on the contrary, he asserts, that "the conjunctions of the young are bad for the procreation of children[3]." That these were the sincere opinions of Aristotle, few will dispute, and that they are philosophically true, will, I think, be fully shewn in its proper place.

(3) In his opinions respecting Plato's republic, I fear he is still less fairly represented than he is regarding his own. When he shews the inconveniences of Plato's scheme of equalizing property without limiting numbers, he points out the mischief of such a regulation, in case of any increase among the latter, which, as before observed, would, it is quite clear, be then left without subsistence. But he never asserts that an increase in population, without the former regulation, would be productive of that consequence. He goes on to state, that one of the earliest writers on legislation, Pheidon of Corinth, introduced a regulation directly the contrary of Plato's, that is, he limited population without limiting possessions. This is evidently Mr. Malthus's favourite idea, and, as he here drops the sentence, it is made to appear to be that of Aristotle also. But unhappily for this interpretation, the latter immediately remarks on the proposition of this anti-populationist of Corinth;—"But we must mention,

[1] Aristotle, De Repub., l. iv., c. 16.
[2] Ibid., l. iv., c. 16.
[3] Ἔστι δὲ ὁ τῶν νέων συνδυασμὸς φαῦλος πρὸς τεκνοποίαν. Aristotle, De Repub. l. vii., c. xvi., p. 446, A.

" afterwards, how we think it would be better[1]." And he has mentioned, most clearly, what he thinks would be better, when, speaking neither of limiting population nor equalizing property, he says, " For " now no one is in want, from property being divided " amongst the multitude, how many soever there be[2]."

(4) After this explicit declaration, it is unnecessary to prove any further how much the views of this great author, on the subject before us, have been perverted. His observations upon the propositions of Phaleus of Chalcedon, who likewise proposed to equalize fortunes, shews, that he attributed, as before, distress and beggary to such an absurd law, and not to the increase of families; which latter meaning is, nevertheless, fixed upon him, otherwise the reference would have been wholly irrelevant[3].

(5) Mr. Malthus asserts, from these and similar passages, that Aristotle saw that the strong tendency of the human race to increase, unless checked by strict and positive laws, was absolutely fatal to every system founded on equality. But this is not the point; all the laws of nature are irreconcilable to so absurd a system; the question is, whether, under more favourable circumstances, he discovered the alleged tendency of mankind to increase beyond the limits of food, and it is one which has been already answered in the negative, and in his own words.

(6) Mr. Malthus says, " it appears still more " clearly," from Aristotle's concluding observations respecting Sparta, how " fully he understood the prin- " ciple of population." I concur with this observation, but differ as to its application. It is true that he

[1] ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων πῶς οἰομεθα βέλτιον ἂν ἔχειν, λεκτέον ὕστερον.—Arist. de Repub., l. ii., c.

[2] νῦν μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἀπορεῖ διὰ τὸ μεριζεσθαι τὰς οὐσίας εἰς (τὸ) ὁποσουοῦν πλῆθος.—Aristot. Op., De Repub., l. ii., c. 6.

[3] Aristotle, De Repub., l. ii., c. 5.

says, "under a faulty distribution of property, an "increase of populousness is only an accumulation of "misery:" but is this any proof that, under a more rational dispensation of it, such must be the case? Directly the reverse, if there be any meaning in language. But let him speak for himself: "The natural "effect of such faulty regulations, is, to diminish the "populousness of the country, (Sparta,) which scarcely "contains the twentieth part of the thirty thousand "heavy armed, and fifteen hundred cavalry, which it "was thought able to send into the field. One great "evil resulting from this diminution of people, was "fatally experienced, when the single defeat at "Leuctra reduced this ancient kingdom to the brink "of ruin. It is reported that the kings preceding "Lycurgus supplied the waste of the nation in war, "by alluring foreigners into the country, and that the "Spartans alone amounted to ten thousand men bear-"ing arms. Without examining this report we may "affirm, that the strength derived from numbers will "be better, and more safely promoted, by levelling "the excessive inequalities of property." The whole passage, I think, runs counter to Mr. Malthus's entire views upon the subject, and indicates that Aristotle apprehended the tendency of mankind, under unequal distributions of property, to diminish rather than increase in numbers; an opinion, which we need not hesitate to say, he held still more decidedly, in regard to the superior ranks, which certainly were not checked in their increase by "want of food." All this is clear from what has just been quoted, as well as from what he says in regard to the law of adoption, namely, that "it was contrived for perpetuating the ancient fami-"lies, and for preserving a due proportion between "the number of landholders and the number of

" shares or lots into which the territory was divided[1]:" a most singular exposition, had the notion of the excessive fecundity of human beings, now attributed to him, been his real opinion.

(7) I shall only add one more quotation from Aristotle, in order to shew the use made of his authority upon this subject. He says, " the Cretan legislator " has some fine speculations on the subject of spare " diet and frugality; and employs, for maintaining the " due proportion of citizens and subsistence, some ex- " traordinary regulations; but," says he, (to translate him literally,) " whether ill or not ill, we shall have " another opportunity of considering." I am not aware that we have the result of these subsequent considerations, or consequently know the nature of those " fine speculations:" but, whatever they were, as we are pretty well assured that the laws of Lycurgus were principally derived from those of Minos, we may be confident that the encouragement, not to say obligation, of marriage, was amongst them. Nevertheless, it is said, on the authority of this passage, that the legislator of Crete, as well as Solon, Pheidon, Plato, and Aristotle, saw the necessity of checking population to prevent general poverty[2].

(8) That I have not, in the preceding observations, misinterpreted the opinions of Aristotle, any more than those of Plato, I feel fully confident. Dr. Gillies, who, whether his object as a translator was, as Mr. Malthus asserts, a free, rather than a literal version, or not, was certainly incapable of misrepresenting his author, thus sums up that author's political philosophy on this important point. " The purpose of comfortable sub- " sistence, for which commonwealths are instituted, " requiring a minute subdivision of labour, Aristotle

[1] Aristotle, De Repub., l. ii., c. 10. [2] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 169.

" says, that in this particular view, the more popu-
" lous is the community, the more completely will its
" end be attained[1]."

(9) It is not surprising that the erroneous views we have been confuting should lead to false deductions. Hence, speaking of the philosophers and legislators of Greece, Mr. Malthus says, " as we must " suppose that the opinions of such men, and the " laws founded upon them, would have considerable " influence, it is probable that the preventive check " to increase, from late marriages and other causes, " operated, to a considerable degree, among the free " citizens of Greece." These high authorities had, doubtless, great influence, but of a very opposite nature. The laws of every state with which we are sufficiently acquainted, prescribed marriage under pain of the most severe and galling disabilities; and even went so far, in some instances, as to inflict them if they were not fruitful. Nor can we doubt but that these laws were effectual to the end proposed. Of this fact we can have indeed no direct information, but the incidental evidence of it is conclusive. We have a singular proof that the Spartans besieging Messene were married; and, it is recorded, that the heroes of the Thermopylæ were also husbands and fathers; circumstances which could hardly have existed had not that state been, at the martial age, universal. And with regard to the " late marriages" mentioned by the author alluded to, it is evident that the age of twenty, recommended by Plato, or of eighteen, by Aristotle, as that at which the female sex ought to contract that union, was meant to operate as a postponement of the usual nubile period, for the purpose, as already shewn, of favouring popula-

[1] Aristotle's Ethics, by Dr. Gillies, p. 86, note.

tion. We cannot err, therefore, in fixing it considerably earlier. Thus Hesiod mentions fifteen as the proper age[1]; and, in one of the most useful and judicious works in Grecian literature, Xenophon's Economics, we find Ischomachus, the hero of the dialogue, saying, that he married his wife at that age;—fifteen[2]. On the whole, therefore, there is not the least evidence that what is called the preventive check prevailed in the ancient states of Greece under any form whatever.

(10) The philosophy and legislation of Rome, I will shortly remark, were precisely coincident with those of Greece on this important subject. I have already observed, that the ancient vice of infanticide was virtually interdicted; and I need not add, on the other hand, that marriage was promoted by all the means which legislation could devise for that purpose. I shall neither enumerate these laws, nor appeal to the authorities, who were the means of enacting them. The lyric poet of that empire, no doubt, presents the prevailing opinion on this subject, and the duty of the Roman rulers in regard to it, in the stanzas addressed to Diana, as goddess of child-bearing:

Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis Ilithyia, tuere matres;
Sive tu Lucina probas vocari,
Seu Genitalis:
Diva, producas subolem, Patrumquè
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Fœminis, prolisque novæ feraci
Lege marita[3].

(11) These prayers, however, availed nothing: the conscript fathers made laws, but they were as inefficacious. So far from the natural tendency of these Romans being to increase beyond the means of subsistence, the profusion in which they shared these means of subsist-

[1] Hesiod, Ἔργ. καὶ Ἡμερ. ϛ'. 315, 316. [3] Horat. Carm. Sec.
[2] Xenophon.

ence far outran all their necessities, and became their ruin. Their numbers were barely kept up by that vast influx of men poured into the Capital of the World from all the surrounding nations. Even in Cicero's time, the decay of the old and genuine Roman stock was in full progress, and almost complete. "Had not Tiberius Gracchus," said the patriot, "caused the freedmen to be admitted into the city "tribes, the republic, which we are now scarce able "to support, would have ceased to exist." A little after, we read in Tacitus, that "were the men de-"ducted whose fathers were enfranchised, the number "of free-born citizens would dwindle into nothing[1]." In succeeding times, the population still further declined, till Julian exclaimed, "the cities are in ruins, "and the provinces dreadful with desolation[2]." At length, as Montesquieu says, "the number of people "was so extremely diminished, that the emperors "were obliged to retire to Ravenna, a city once for-"tified by sea, as Venice is now[3]." It is useless to pursue the subject any further. The majesty of Rome gradually declined, her population kept perpetually diminishing, till that mighty empire at length expired, almost as feebly and obscurely as it commenced.

(12) Intellectual superiority consists of little more than an anticipation of the progress of human knowledge and experience; and the sages of Greece would, indeed, have had little claim to that distinction, had they busied themselves in providing against evils which had no existence, and totally overlooked those which assailed their country from an opposite direction; and with which it was constantly struggling, till it was

[1] Tacitus, Ann. xiii., c. 26.
[2] Amm. Marcell., l. xxiv.
[3] Montesquieu. Obs. sur la grand. et decad. &c. cxix.

at length finally overcome. But they saw the real evil; not that of a tendency to an excess, but to a diminution in their population. Hence the anxiety with which they encouraged the only real and permanent source of human increase,—marriage; the privileges with which they invested that state, and the honours they conferred on a numerous progeny. Hence the disgrace with which they stigmatized the contrary condition,—celibacy. So that Paley is fully justified in asserting, that some heathen "nations appear to "have been more sensible of the importance of mar-"riage institutions than we are. The Spartans," says he, "obliged their citizens to marry by penalties; the "Romans encouraged theirs by the *jus trium libero-*"*rum*[1]"; inflicting, indeed, disabilities upon even those who were married, if they had no children. And happy had it been for their respective countries had they been as successful in banishing the positive, as they were in annihilating the preventive, check; they would then have continued to have a name and a place among the nations of the earth.

[1] Paley, Moral Philosophy, b. iii., c. i., p. 183.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF THE REMAINING DIRECT CHECKS TO POPULATION.

(1) HAVING considered the first great check to population, war, or, in other words, that once almost constant slaughter of the species, which it has been so confidently asserted was long the principal agent in keeping down the numbers of mankind to the level of their subsistence, it remains that a few words be added regarding the other direct means which have been pointed out as assisting in the same work. To one of these, infanticide, much allusion has been necessarily made in the preceding remarks on the philosophy of Greece; a few observations, however, of a more general nature, are due to the subject.

(2) Regarding the permission of this crime in ancient times and heathen countries, Mr. Malthus thus expresses himself: "It had without doubt two ends "in view; first, that which is most obvious, the pre- "vention of such an excessive population as would "cause universal poverty and discontent; and, se- "condly, that of keeping up the population to the "level of what the territory could support, by remov- "ing the terrors of too numerous a family, and conse- "quently the principal obstacle to marriage. From "the effect of this practice in China, we have reason "to think that it is better calculated to attain the "latter than the former purpose. But if the legis- "lator either did not see this, or if the barbarous habits "of the times prompted parents invariably to prefer

" the murder of their children to poverty, the practice " would appear to be very particularly calculated to " answer both the ends in view, and to preserve, as " completely and as constantly as the nature of the " thing would permit, the requisite proportion between " the food and the numbers which were to consume " it[1]."

(3) I have seldom, never indeed, read a sentence which excited in me feelings of such strong and unmingled disgust as the foregoing one. Fully acquitting its author of any intention to palliate, much less to recommend, this dreadful crime, still the very supposition of its being, under any state of society whatever, one of the foreseen and best calculated means of balancing the numbers of the human species and their food, an operation rendered necessary, as some suppose, by the miscalculations of nature, appears to me most astounding. Other means, it will be seen in the sequel, nature resorts to, with a certainty which never fails. Nor is child-murder " very particularly calculated" for any purpose but that of keeping a population in savage barbarism and wretchedness as well as guilt, and interrupting its advance to plenty and prosperity.

(4) Postponing to the terminating chapters of the next book, all consideration of the imputation upon the Chinese of the general practice of infanticide, and having in the two preceding ones wiped off the aspersion cast upon the legislators and philosophers of antiquity, as encouraging it, I shall add but few words at present on so repulsive a subject. That it never could have been one of the direct and necessary checks to population, is sufficiently apparent from two considerations; first, because it generally was, and still is, confined to a very barbarous state of existence, in

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 164.

the population was, or is, far too scanty to need, on any possible view of the subject, diminution; or second, because wherever it has openly prevailed, in the most luxurious state of society, singular as it may appear, it has been perpetrated by the higher rather than the lower ranks.

(5) I do not deny the assertion of Hume, that infanticide was the prevailing and stubborn vice of antiquity. Probably the custom of the Canaanites, so strongly reprobated in the law of Moses, of passing their children through the fire, or offering them to Moloch, was a species of infanticide; we find, too, the Carthaginians, who are supposed to have been of the same origin, persevering in the like horrible rites. In the earliest periods of the history of Greece and Rome, it might have also partially prevailed, till, as we have seen, it was repressed in their better days. But then, in these instances, if it existed at all, it was perpetrated in countries very inadequately peopled, to which an increase of numbers would have been the greatest possible blessing. And still it is, in the wilds of America, one of the most scantily peopled districts in the globe, in reference to its fertility, that the Indian is said to expose and desert his child, that he may spare himself a momentary inconvenience; a habit which we are also told prevailed till of late in the more luxuriant islands of the South Seas, where all the productions of nature, excepting human beings to enjoy them, are found in such astonishing abundance.

(6) Whenever this method of regulating the population has generally prevailed, it has been found to be the habit of luxurious wealth, rather than of suffering poverty; and, therefore, cannot have been resorted to as a general means of proportioning numbers to food.

This fact may sound rather strange in "ears polite;" and, happily for our state of civilization, we can only know it from ancient history, or distant report; these, however, concur in substantiating it. Thus in the Polynesian islands, to which Mr. Malthus so pointedly alludes, who are they that constitute the well-known Eareeoie societies? The very same class who perpetrated similar crimes in Rome, whom the satirist contrasts with the poor, so little to the advantage of the former.

> Hæ tamen et partûs subeunt discrimen, et omnes
> Nutricis tolerant, fortunâ urgente, labores:
> Sed jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto;
> Tantum artes hujus, tantum medicamina possunt,
> Quæ steriles facit, atque homines in ventre necandos
> Conducit.[1]

Those, however, whom the Romans deemed barbarians, "accounted it," says Tacitus, "a flagitious crime to "set limits to population, by rearing only a certain "number of children, and destroying the rest." On the contrary, we learn incidentally from Cæsar, that they avoided whatever they supposed would diminish their natural fruitfulness.

(7) With the practice of destroying helpless infancy, may be classed the immolation of the weak, the diseased, and the aged, which also must tend to diminish population. But this custom again prevails only in countries which are almost desolate of inhabitants.

(8) The remaining "positive checks," which have, in conjunction with the former ones, to rectify the redundance of mankind, are famine and pestilence. But here again the argument for their necessity totally fails. Where, according to the theory under examination, they cannot be wanted, there they prevail with

[1] Juv. Sat., 6, v. 592.

frequency and severity, and where they ought to operate, there they disappear. Dearth and famine, for instance, are almost peculiar to a scanty state of population, dispersed over a fertile country, as Humboldt has observed; except in those colonies which have sprung from, and which are still dependant, in great measure, for their prosperity, on their access to crowded countries. As to that abject poverty which almost amounts, in individual cases, to what dearth and famine become, more generally considered, it is the most severe and universal where the inhabitants are few. It is interesting to observe, that no perceptible diminution takes place in any well-peopled country from this afflicting cause; in a nation where there are institutions in favour of the poor, it is barely possible that they can occur, except in some very extraordinary instances indeed. Major Graunt, in his Observations on the Bills of Mortality, says, "my first obser-"vation is, that few are starved. This appears, that "of 229,250, which have died, we find not above 51 to "have been starved!" And he speaks thus of the most crowded metropolis in the world, where, in the ceaseless crowd and bustle, such circumstances, one would imagine, are the most likely to occur. As to the supposition, that poverty operates as a check in another form, namely, by either diminishing the proportion or the prolificness of marriages, the contrary will be fully demonstrated hereafter.

(9) Nor is the supposition, that epidemics are the efficient means of thinning a crowded popolation, any truer than the former ones. Diseases which are communicated by direct contact may, perhaps, be spread more rapidly, and commit greater ravages amongst a full, than a thin state of inhabitants; but even this fact is doubtful, for the greatest of all the contagious pests

that ever afflicted the human race, the small-pox, was quite as fatal in country places, as in towns and cities, at all times; and it is remarkable, that the plague itself, during its last tremendous visitation in this country, was much more fatal in a small sequestered village in the north of Derbyshire, than in the metropolis. But as to epidemics of a different kind, it has long been observed, that they are less fatal in towns than in country places. This, Dr. Short repeatedly points out; and during the late dreadful contagious fever in Ireland, Drs. Baker and Cheyne record the same important fact, as established by the communications of the faculty from every part of the island.

(10) But these facts are rather curious than essential to my argument, which I shall further proceed to enforce, in a different and far more conclusive manner, in the ensuing chapter.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF THE DIMINUTION IN THE OPERATION OF THE CHECKS AS POPULATION INCREASES.

(1) One of the most striking, and indeed irrefragable proofs, that the checks we have been considering, namely, War, Pestilence, and Famine, were not intended to be, nor yet are, the regulators of population, remains to be noticed, and it is this,—that they are utterly misplaced in the system they are meant to support. When, in every view of the question, they are not only unnecessary but highly pernicious, that is, in the rudiments of human associations, when room is abundant, and it is only human beings who are scarce, then are they constantly present, and operate with the greatest vigour. But, on the other hand, when mankind become, comparatively speaking, numerous, and consequently when they ought, according to the theory, to be the most active, they operate very languidly, and remit their effects to very distant and lengthening intervals, so as to encourage a rational and pious hope that the time is not far distant when the anticipations of philosophy and the prophecies of religion will be realized, and they will cease altogether. Meantime they are, in every sense of the word, mal-a-propos; they appear when they are not wanted; when they ought to be present, and unusually active, they are absent: confronting, therefore, at every stage of society, the theory they are brought forward to support.

(2) But, I must drag the reader again to the revolting subject, and, to prevent any misrepresentation, I will repeat the modern scheme of population, or rather the means by which it is regulated in the first states of society. "When population has increased nearly to "the utmost limits of food," (when, however, has it done so?) "all the preventive and positive checks "will naturally operate with increased force. Vicious "habits with respect to the sex will be more general, "the exposing of children more frequent, and both "the probability and fatality of wars and epidemics "will be considerably greater; and these causes will "probably continue their operation till the population "is sunk below the level of the food, and then the "return to comparative plenty will again produce an "increase; and, after a certain period, its further pro-"gress will again be checked by the same causes[1]." That is, the best feelings of the human heart will produce the worst consequences, and the punishment of nature's error will fall upon the least guilty part of the human race.

(3) In seeing whether such lamentable consequences result from the law of nature, and whether they increase as the population advances, I reject the subterfuges which an appeal to mere "tendencies," "oscillations," &c., may afford to the system I oppose, or my own. I shall briefly allude to the use made of these terms hereafter; in the mean time, I shall refer to the plain experience of the world, for thousands of years past, on the points at issue.

(4) First, then, in reference to war, long the greatest and most fatal check to the growth and prosperity of the human race. Have the "probability and fatality of wars increased" with an increasing

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 15.

population? The slightest knowledge of the history of the world will enable us to give an instant negative to such a supposition. Directly the contrary is the fact: as mankind have increased, wars have been, first, not so frequent, and, secondly, not so fatal.

(5) In proof of this, we need not take a wide view of ancient history, that of the first three universal monarchies abundantly proves these facts; Greece also might be appealed to, with equal confidence; in the earlier stages of whose history, as Mitford observes, a neighbour and an enemy were synonymous terms[1]. But, let us take the fourth and last great empire, Rome; not only as incomparably the most powerful, the most permanent, and the most bloody tyranny that ever scourged the world, but as existing in a period on which the lights of history shine more distinctly; and, above all, as possessing those parts of the earth which we now inhabit, and with which we are, therefore, most familiar. In the very language of this polite people, also, who governed the whole of the known world, a stranger and an enemy were synonymous terms, and their conduct fully justified their etymology. From the foundation of their city to the climax of the empire, through its decline, and to its fall, their story is written in blood. Excepting in the reign of Numa, the temple of Janus had not been closed from the time of Romulus to the termination of the first Punic war, full half a millennium of slaughter! and, as Florus says, the peace was then but of short duration, as it were only to take breath. It was without delay re-opened[2]. Nor was it again shut till the 700th year from the building of the city; having, as that author observes, been closed but twice, and for very short periods only, during that long space of

[1] Mitford, Hist. of Greece. [2] Florus, l. ii., c. 3.

time[1]. This was, however, in all respects, far the most important period of Roman history, especially in reference to our inquiry. It comprehended the time when Italy itself, though colonized, was yet but thinly peopled, and when the surrounding provinces, to the north and west at least, were still less inhabited. We need not trace the history of this pest from the Augustan age till the empire, destroyed and broken in pieces by the righteous vengeance of the surrounding provinces it had so long and so grievously oppressed, was dissolved in its own growing corruptions. But it may be just remarked, that this scourge was ever the most active when the number was the most scanty or on the decline. Not only does the appalling fact meet us, of almost uninterrupted war for the greatest part of a thousand years together; but secondly, in direct contradiction to the supposition quoted, its fatality, in proportion to the population, was as strikingly excessive as its duration, when compared with the contests of later times, was long. This must be evident, in the first place, from the numbers engaged in these wars. In the best days of Rome, as they are called, their armies consisted of a great part of the population; indeed all its citizens were obliged to spend seven years of their life in active service. As it respected their enemies, their hosts comprehended almost the whole number of their males capable of bearing arms. But, in later times, it has been calculated that not more than one in a hundred of the population, in most civilized countries, follows the military profession. This single consideration is conclusive as to the fact of the immense slaughter occasioned by the wars of antiquity, compared with those of later times.

[1] Florus, l. iv., c. 12.

(6) But we must add to this view of the subject another appalling consideration, namely, that the character of the warfare of the two periods is still more essentially different. Victory, in the former of these, was not achieved but with a far greater waste of human life, and defeat was infinitely more fatal. The vanquished, which, as before observed, were generally the entire male population capable of bearing arms, were often put to the sword; not unfrequently the entire race was exterminated. Sometimes, however, a part were reserved as slaves, especially the women and children, and therefore often doomed to a fate not less certain, though somewhat deferred. In fine, nothing could equal the flagrant injustice with which war was then commenced, except the horrible cruelties with which it was waged. In the best period of Roman history, (if we may be allowed to call that best which was the happiest for the mass of the human race, though there was no Cato to pillage and murder in the name of the Republic,) Augustus Cæsar proclaimed peace throughout the world; and a period of prosperity ensued which "the check" again interrupted, till, in a few centuries afterwards, it is supposed half, at least, of the inhabitants of the then known world were exterminated, and Italy itself exhibited a scene of comparative desolation. A period of increased plenty, and profound peace, according to the theory in dispute, ought then to have "naturally ensued." Was this the case? When the Roman empire was broken up, and served no longer as a vast amphitheatre wherein to match human beings against each other as so many gladiators, although there were inadequate numbers to till the ground, and mankind were rapidly relapsing into barbarism; was this check laid aside? No! on the contrary, there were then

thousands of arenas in which this check of the species was actively and efficiently at work. Fixing upon a middle period, between the time of Augustus and the present, (for it is obviously impossible to pursue, in a work like this, the subject more minutely,) let us take a view of the situation of society in the tenth century, as given by a popular writer, often previously quoted. At that time, there were probably not a fourth of the inhabitants in Europe that there now are. Still this check was busy. "In the disorders "of the tenth and eleventh centuries," says Gibbon, "every peasant was a soldier, and every village a for- "tification; each wood or valley was a scene of rapine "and murder; and the lords of each castle were com- "pelled to assume the characters of princes and war- "riors. To their own courage and policy they boldly "trusted for the safety of their family, the protection "of their lands, the revenge of their injuries; and, "like the conquerors of a larger size, they were too apt "to transgress the privileges of defensive war. The "powers of the body and mind were hardened by the "presence of danger, and the necessity of resolutions "—they disdained the authority of the laws; and "the instruments of agriculture and art were con- "verted into the weapons of bloodshed[1]."

(7) Contrast the havoc of war, carried on thus, with that which prevails in the present period. Probably, we have seen in our day a contest unexampled in the annals of the world, if we consider the might and courage of the combatants, the nature of the quarrel, and the time of its duration. Yet its effects on the country most deeply interested were slight, compared with the warfare of the darker ages, and more especially that of the Roman empire. From

[1] Gibbon, vol. x., p. 148, 149.

first to last, we maintained the combat against a mighty enemy, with whom at one time all Europe was in league, and, at length, even the New World arrayed itself against us. During this period, the battle raged on either element, till concluded by the triumphs of Trafalgar and Waterloo; and the loss of many a brave victim, it is true, was deplored, but still the total number of the killed was insignificant, compared with that of the annual mortality of our population, from natural causes; it was as nothing, to that which must have been endured, had a similar war been waged by nations equally powerful, and equally exasperated and determined, in any of the periods previously alluded to. Modern Europe, however, had seen no similar contest, and, it is to be hoped, will never witness such another.

(8) Thus has the efficacy of the check, war, in forcing down, as it is expressed, the population to the level of the means of subsistence, been constantly diminishing, till, in point of fact, it hardly now deserves to be enumerated amongst the checks it once had the bad pre-eminence of heading.

(9) Two reasons may be assigned for the great diminution in the carnage of war which has happily taken place in modern times. The one is the invention of gunpowder, and its application to warfare. This, by diminishing, and often annihilating, the advantages of mere brute force, has rendered war a business of tactics, full as much as of close contest; and has, however paradoxical it may sound, greatly diminished the slaughter when battle has been inevitable. Such are the means of defence, as well as of attack, which this powerful agent gives, that it inspires hostile armies with mutual esteem, and often keeps them at a respectful distance from each other,

so that a whole campaign may now pass away in manœuvring, which in former days would have been consumed in perpetual slaughter.

(10) But the second and great reason is the milder influence of the religion of civilization—Christianity. It has not yet realized all its apologists promised, because as yet it has been but imperfectly believed, and still less perfectly obeyed; but it has already accomplished, even in this respect, what its very enemies can never depreciate, and in so doing has shewn the nature of its ultimate triumphs. It has changed, in great measure, the very motives of warfare. Few potentates now, whatever be their ambition, entertain the idea of stripping a prostrate people of their property, slaughtering a portion of them, and consigning the remainder to lasting slavery; not a sentimental slavery, on which politicians love to declaim, but a personal thraldom, one like Egyptian darkness, "that may be felt." Few warriors now, it is to be hoped, dream of putting the vanquished to the sword, or of waging a war of extermination.

(10) That the character of war has therefore so much changed, and its carnage so abated, in comparison with that of ancient times, as hardly to deserve any longer the name of a direct check to the population of the civilized world, appears perfectly clear. The subject will be again shortly adverted to, when the influence of population on the prosperity of the country will be more particularly considered. Meantime, I shall conclude this part of the argument in the words of Gibbon. "In the system of modern Europe, the "power of the sword is possessed, at least, in fact, by "five or six mighty potentates; their operations are "conducted on a distant frontier, by an order of men "who devote themselves to the study and practice of

"the military art; the rest of the country and com-
"munity enjoy in the midst of war the tranquillity of
"peace, and is only made sensible of the change by
"the aggravation or decrease of the public taxes[1]."
So much, then, for the assertion, that the principle of population occasions by its effects the greater probability, and increases the fatality, of war.

(11) As to infanticide, which it is also said will, from the same cause, human increase, become more frequent, it is sufficient to remark, that what was permitted, if not encouraged, when Europe was a wilderness, is, now that almost all its countries are infinitely fuller of inhabitants, punished with death; and that the benevolence of every Christian country has removed the sole motive to this deadly act, that can have any reference whatever to the question at issue: and it has almost disappeared even in the islands of the South Sea, to which much allusion on this subject has been made[2].

(12) These two checks, therefore, the one peculiarly calculated for its office, and the other doing its work in the gross, being, by the humanizing influences of civilization and religion, so much abated, and still continuing to abate, the business of checking the population must be left, in great measure, to the remainder, which must therefore, according to the theory, operate with increased activity. These "drains," as they are termed, must be enlarged, or "fresh ones opened." But a moment's consideration will lead us to the very same conclusion respecting the remaining checks, famine and pestilence. Increasing population, instead of extending the field of their operation, and swelling the number of their

[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, vol. x., p. 148.

[2] See Ellis, passim.

victims, has greatly diminished, and, indeed, almost annihilated them also.

(13) Respecting famine, nothing can be more absurd or contrary to the fact, than fixing upon a full population as the scene of its greatest ravages. Many reasons there are why that dreadful scourge should be less frequent and prevalent in such a state than in a more thinly peopled one; none why it should be more so. The author quoted at the commencement of this chapter, fixing his eye upon his geometric and arithmetical table, sees, at every step, the constant diminution in food compared with the numbers it is to sustain, (if Nature have her way,) has fallen into a grievous and unaccountable error on this point. As the united labour of numbers is generally much better rewarded and far more productive than that of the disconnected few, it follows, that a full state of population, with sufficient space, will be better supplied than a scanty one. It is equally clear that a replenished, or, in other words, a rich community, possessing capabilities for commerce and speculation, as it is called, would direct some of its means, through some of its members, to remedy the effects of the variations of the seasons, as a matter of profitable pursuit. A full population, then, as I take it, will always be more equably supplied, though somewhat dearer perhaps; which dearness, if connected with the improved condition of the mass of the community, resolves itself, after all, into a state of superior plenty. But so long as human labour has a definite object, to supply human necessities; so long as the surface of the earth and the treasures of the deep suffice, (and the author in question now admits that they have not, probably, hitherto yielded a tenth part of their possible produce,) how it should be imagined that the few have a better

chance of evading the consequences of fluctuating seasons than the many, is, to me, I confess, an enigma, and one which, happily for human beings, the history of the world has never propounded.

(14) I may here, probably, be referred to America; advantaged as she is in being composed of the fragments of the crowded communities of Europe, and having still a constant and profitable access to these communities. He says it is almost impossible to imagine a scarcity of food in that country. So it is; but what does this imply? Why, that the population is almost exclusively agricultural; and that her exports are principally made up of its products. The same might be said of the actual cultivators of any particular country; the poor farmers, (and they are sunk low enough in the scale of our social system, though still not quite so degraded as the political economists think consistent with the good of the country,) while they had any part remaining of those stocks of provisions, which it is their business to raise and vend, could not suffer in an actual famine; but if they constantly retained their produce, they could not subsist in times of the greatest plenty; as they could not then procure the other necessaries of life, almost equally essential to existence with food itself. But it is most singular, that those who, in arguing on this subject, point at the condition of the American population, do not perceive, that so far from appealing to a social structure, which is to form the model of a state of society exempt from the distress under consideration, they point to one which can only exist as an exception. What is the exception from this particular check occasioned by? Doubtless by the circumstance of their transporting the produce of their soil to other nations. But could

all, or even most nations, do so? Certainly not: for when all, or most nations, were the sellers of such produce, where were the buyers? Any system of population to be true, it is quite clear, ought to be of general application. But supposing the measure of American population to be universal, and that the advantages they have derived from springing from a more crowded state of society were passed over, still there could then be none of these exports, nor consequently of that superfluity of produce, which is, in that exempt case, a security from a want of the mere necessaries of existence. On the other hand, the population then having no inducements, nor indeed means, to raise more than their average wants, would no more do so than we do at present. There must then be at least as much, but, I believe, far more want, fluctuation, and wretchedness in the world than there is at present. So much for these confident appeals to America, a country which forms a palpable exception to the general law of Nature, and depends for its prosperity upon others who are subject to this law. England, herself, till within no remote period, was an exporting country; and she lost that trade because other nations wisely determined to cultivate for themselves. In the mean time it may be asserted, with the fullest confidence, that if the like proportion of the population were employed in cultivating the ground in this nation, that is so occupied in America, or even in other countries decidedly less agricultural than the latter, there would not be mouths enough to consume half the produce.

(15) But were America one of those countries which could fairly be appealed to on the present subject, still it would be perfectly easy to shew, from its

annals, that the check under consideration has diminished, even there, as the population has increased. It requires but little research to know that the colonies, in the early periods of their history, were frequently visited by very distressing scarcities, which recurred, at times, during a very considerable number of years; and that it has only been since the country has been more adequately possessed, and, as has just been observed, has become an exporter of the necessaries of life, that those "hard times" have in a great measure ceased, which are mentioned by Franklin as having been so severely felt in the earlier part of his long life.

(16) To return, then, after this digression, to a short general consideration of the subject. And to take our first view of it from that earliest authentic record to which Mr. Malthus has appealed, I would ask whether the famine which afflicted Jacob and his family, consisting, as we know, of a very small number of persons, was less severe and distressing than it would have been had their numbers more fully possessed the land of Canaan? On the contrary, we know that it was as "sore in the land" which was possessed by seventy Israelites, as it ever was amongst perhaps the nearer seven millions who afterwards inhabited the country. A volume might be composed in selecting instances and proofs of the important fact, that a full population decreases instead of increases the frequency and fatality of famines; but I shall still content myself with furnishing examples, rather than collecting a series of facts. Let the history of Rome, then, suffice. Did its increased population produce this effect, or the reverse? Let Gibbon answer: "It "may be observed," says that writer, "that those "famines which so frequently afflicted the infant

"republic, were seldom or never experienced by the "extensive Roman empire[1]."

(17) When that terrible diminution of the human species occurred, to which allusion has been already made, and the Roman empire was broken up into those fragments which now form the European republic, and the civilized world was eased of at least half its mouths, there ought then to have been a riotous time of plenty, according to the scale graduated by the theory I am opposing. But to name any one European kingdom in reference to the point at issue, were sufficient for the argument. Any person of tolerable intelligence will at once know, whichever be that country, that its early history, when it was, comparatively speaking, unpeopled, was the period for the frequent recurrence and fatality of famines. As, however, we shall again have occasion to allude to some of these nations, and especially to our own, it may suffice for the present to state, in general terms, that through the entire history of the human race, famines have diminished as population has increased.

(18) To illustrate this upon a small scale, which, as the author I am chiefly examining observes, is the clearest way of exhibiting the subject, look at any new colony, then, if you please, planted by England, the first naval power that exists, or ever did exist upon earth, and therefore planted under the greatest possible advantages. Let them have plenty of soil, of the richest kind, seeds of every description, the practical knowledge of agriculture, and, in fine, all the arts of civilization derived from the crowded community they leave; but even these, in the first stages of their settlement, have been invariably exposed to hard-

[1] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, &c., vol. i., p. 86.

ships of the nature we are considering, and often of the severest description. The dearths which almost all such have experienced, arose, as I contend, not from the surcharge, but from the want of inhabitants; and their situation may, in some measure, exhibit that of the communities, in their first stages of existence, which have now risen to an unforeseen pitch of strength and greatness, and to the constant enjoyment of general prosperity and affluence. These difficulties and distresses, whether from without or within, were of a character very similar in their nature, though perhaps different in degree, to those experienced in new colonies. Population, however, was the remedy, and the sole and sufficient one, in both cases.

(19) But, after all, the question is the best resolved by instancing those districts of the earth which have already a very large extent of fertile soil, and but a thin population. This situation is an undoubted test of the truth of the assertion, that plenty depends upon the repression of population. Excluding, for reasons before mentioned, those colonies which, having passed the ordeal of their first settlement, receive the principal encouragement and reward of their industry from without, a population is in general wretched, not in proportion to the scantiness and sterility, but the prolificness and extent of the country it possesses, unless increasing numbers keep pace with those advantages, so as to leave the spur of necessity in full operation. This is a fact which has not escaped the notice of Aristotle; the pre-eminence of Attica, also, which was the most unpropitious district of Greece, illustrates the same important truth, which receives further confirmation from every quarter of the globe. One of the most celebrated of our modern writers makes a remark fully in point, which I think

I have already quoted; I mean Baron Humboldt[1]. He gives it on the authority of his own observation, that the superior prolificness of nature has a tendency to create idleness, and consequently, wretchedness; while its sterility, on the contrary, encourages industry, and secures therefore abundance.

(20) In a word, it may be assumed as an undoubted fact, evidenced by the history of every civilized country, and of our own in particular, that the fewer the inhabitants, the more frequent and the more severe have been dearths and famines; and that as population has advanced and multiplied, the intervals of their recurrence have lengthened, and at last in a great measure ceased altogether.

(21) But throughout the whole of this treatise I have thought it necessary to present the conclusion at which I have arrived, on any of the more important points which the subject embraces, and especially on such as involve much historical remark and extensive observation, in other language than my own. The reader must be aware that, in favour of the view I have taken of the one under immediate consideration, authorities might be quoted to almost any extent. I shall confine myself, however, to one only. Hale says, "Famines of late times have been not much "observed, partly because of the great industry of "mankind improving and increasing the fruits of the "earth[2]." Or, in other words, they have disappeared as men have multiplied.

(22) The same may be said of what may be termed individual famine, extreme poverty, and starvation. Every rank of society has been elevated as the numbers of the whole have increased. And as to cases of

[1] Humboldt, Personal Narrative, vol. i., p. 123.

[2] Hale, Origination, p. 213.

urgent distress, as they will doubtless occur in all societies, so they are the best provided for where the population is the fullest. The preservation of those lives, which in former days would have been deemed utterly worthless, and which there is an effort among our political economists still to represent as such, is, in all the Christian communities of the earth, attended to, by innumerable foundations of charity; and in our own and many others by a national establishment of mercy, which renders it as unlawful to let a fellow-creature perish from hunger, or from a want of the other necessaries of life, as it is to murder him; a view of the subject which was universally taken by the primitive church. Death through abject poverty, or, as it may be called, individual famine, can, therefore, no longer be deemed one of the checks to population here, nor, I would fain hope, in any Christian nation, though in barbarous times and ages it was indeed a most powerful one. The reader, however, will be spared the sickening proofs of its prevalence at those periods; while we pass on to the consideration of the last of the "positive checks," as they are termed.

(22) Lastly, then, do epidemics or pestilence become "more frequent, and more fatal," as the population multiplies? Again we answer;—directly the reverse.

(23) It may be safely asserted, that most of the pestilences and famines which have afflicted mankind, and have greatly lessened the number of human beings, have been produced by wars. As the latter, therefore, have diminished in their frequency, shortened in their duration, and, above all, have been greatly mitigated in their ferocity, hardly affecting, as has been already observed, the mass of mankind; it is certain, that, with this happy change, famines and

pestilence, so far as they are caused by that great pest of the human race, must have been similarly abated, if not entirely removed. But if those famines, which have afflicted the earth, have been generally attributable to that master check, which, according to the theory I am opposing, is calculated to produce plenty, some of the epidemics, which have also had their share in thinning the human race, have had, I admit, a different origin. But I contend, that even epidemics are neither so frequent nor so fatal, where the population has progressively advanced.

(24) The page of history again verifies this highly interesting fact. Epidemics, both in their frequency and fatality, have diminished greatly, as the earth has become better peopled. The annals of every country in Europe bear testimony to the truth of this statement. When the inhabitants were, compared with their present number, inconsiderable, then was it that these fatal pests, in different forms, and under different denominations, were matter of lamentably common occurrence, as will be exemplified in a sketch of the history of our own country, in reference to the present subject: as the people have multiplied, these pests have, in a great measure, disappeared. This check, therefore, has lost ground, instead of being more fatally forward in regulating the population, as it multiplied; and it has now happily disappeared in its more fatal forms, almost altogether.

(25) How it should have been imagined, that this check could " increase in frequency and fatality," as the population advance, is strange; for it is to such advance, that that universal and superior culture of the earth is unquestionably owing, which has not only beautified its surface, but has meliorated its very

climates, dispensing not only plenty, in far greater shares, amongst the inhabitants at large, but increasing the measure of its enjoyment, by the universal improvement of health and longevity.

(26) But it is surely unnecessary to prove, that those plagues and other strange and fatal epidemics, which dreadfully prevailed in Europe, in past periods, have abated or disappeared, as its inhabitants have increased. I shall only particularize one of these, long the most fatal pest, probably, that ever visited the civilized world, as conclusive on this subject,—the small-pox. This, it has been calculated, carried off a considerable portion of the human race, and principally in their early infancy. If there were a real redundancy in the fecundity of mankind, it was unquestionably the best means that nature could have devised of correcting the error. It was a general infanticide without guilt, and it almost always took place at a period of life, in which it inflicted the least suffering and sorrow. In its consequences, (still supposing the truth of the theory opposed,) it rendered what are called the positive checks in a great measure unnecessary; or mitigated, at all events, their terrible inflictions; and forced upon mankind smaller doses of that "moral restraint," as it is called, still worse than suffering, whose nature and effects remain to be considered. I am sure I shall take the sense, and even the feeling of my readers with me, when I assert, that if the notion of this superfluity of human beings is true,—a principle, which, as it develops itself, is to be checked by all the horrible expedients already noticed, or by the still more disgusting ones yet to be considered, then the discovery of vaccination is, to speak plainly but most truly, one of the greatest curses that ever befell the human race. Rather than

that "vicious habits regarding the sex should become more common;" "that wars," or (in this view of warfare) murders "should be more frequent and more fatal;" "epidemics more constant and mortal;" it were better that Nature herself should have continued to demand the sacrifice which was to rectify her own errors, in her accustomed mode, and when life had the least unconsciousness, and was invested, as it respected others, with the least importance. I repeat, that if these "drains" of population, as they are called, are to be taken from another portion of the community; namely, adults, generally speaking, instead of infants, then, reasoning as a Christian, feeling as a man and as a patriot, I cannot hesitate. In the sacrifice still to be demanded, according to the principle I am opposing, guilt will often have to be substituted for spotless innocence; the anguish of reluctant death, for an unconscious exit; the stay of the domestic scene, in whom the deepest interest, as well as the strongest affections are united, for an infant of a span, which has but just awakened the affections, while the consequences of the change would, on the same system, be degradation and guilt, so general, as probably to contaminate the whole community. Vaccination, according to the modern theory of population, is a positive and inevitable curse.

(27)* The author to whom I have so frequently alluded, has expressed himself very intelligibly on the subject of both the small-pox and vaccination. In regard to the first, noticing Dr. Haygarth's opinions and calculations respecting the very pernicious effects which that fatal malady has had upon population, in conformity with his theory, which always breeds up to subsistence, he says, "were its devastations many

"thousand degrees greater than the plague, I should "still doubt whether the average population of the "earth had been diminished by them a single unit. "The small-pox is certainly one of the channels, and "a very broad one, which Nature has opened for the "last thousand years to keep down population to the "level of the means of subsistence; but had that been "closed, others would have become wider, or new ones "would have been formed [1]." After shewing that the small-pox took the place of the more fatal wars and plagues of antiquity,—which observation he thinks ought to awaken our attention and animate us to patient and persevering investigation, he adds, "For my own "part, I feel not the slightest doubt, that, if the in- "troduction of the cow-pox should extirpate the small- "pox, and yet the number of marriages continue the "same, we shall find a very perceptible difference in "the increased mortality of some other diseases. No- "thing could prevent this effect but a sudden start "in our agriculture," which "will not be owing to "the number of children saved from death by the "cow-pox, but to the alarms amongst the people of "property by the late scarcities, and to the increased "gains of the farmers, which have been so absurdly "reprobated. I am strongly, however, inclined to "believe, that the number of marriages will not, in "this case, remain the same [2];" but, as he goes on to make it out, moral restraint is to make the extinction of a mortal disorder "a real blessing to us." Intimating, consequently, that should this not take effect, it will be no "real blessing."

(28) I have quoted this author so much at length, to give, on the subject more especially under our notice, a specimen of that boldness of assertion and

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 522. [2] Ibid., pp. 522, 523.

carelessness of fact which mark too many of the theories and prognostications of the present period. Vaccination was introduced at the commencement of the present century[1].

i. The extirpation of the small-pox fully justifies Dr. Haygarth's assertions respecting its previous fatal effects on the population, and has consequently shewn the utter fallacy of the contrary opinions on the subject quoted above. It has had the effect of greatly increasing the population. Whether the ratio of increase, generated by a comparison of the number of the population at the two periods on which the computation is founded, will be maintained, supposing the equal absence of the other checks, is a matter of calculation, and will be adverted to hereafter.

ii. The number of marriages, which Mr. Malthus supposes would not continue so high, have, on the contrary, greatly increased, not only numerically, but relatively to the population.

iii. There has been no perceptible increase in the mortality of other disorders. On the contrary, their fatality, as well as that of the small-pox, has evidently lessened.

iv. As the marriages have not diminished, but greatly increased, in proportion to the population, according to Mr. Malthus's own terms, vaccination is, therefore, not "a real blessing."

I acquit the advocates of the theory of population of any inconsistency here. Did I hold the principle they inculcate, I should come to the same conclusion.

(29) But there is, in the foregoing argument, as in most of his others, a loop-hole of escape; he says, if agriculture does not take "a sudden start," these increased diseases of another sort would be the conse-

[1] Dr. Heysham, quoted by Mr. Milne, vol. ii., p. 755.

quence of the same number of marriages. It must take a double start, one would think then, when the marriages were increased, and that in no trifling degree; for I wish to remind the reader this argument is not about shades of difference. Marriages took a start from 67,228 in 1801, to 90,386 in 1802; and in 1804 to 94,376; nor did their number ever sink again to what it was at before vaccination was introduced, nor to any thing approaching it. Still how carefully is this "start in agriculture" guarded from the supposition of its being occasioned by population preceding and dictating production; an opinion perfectly heterodox in this new view of the question! If it took place, it was to be attributed to the fears of people of property and the increased gain of the farmers. But what, I would ask the political economists, occasioned those fears, but the wants of an increasing population? and what occasioned those profits but a better market, which the very same cause created? What, in a word, created a better demand for agricultural products, but more mouths? To doubt this, however, would be no striking absurdity in the eyes of a confident and determined economist.

(30) I, therefore, deny all Mr. Malthus's assertions on this point; I need not do the same by his prophecies, time has disposed of the whole of them. The small-pox is, generally speaking, eradicated by vaccination; marriages have positively and relatively increased in number; deaths have diminished: population, therefore, has gone on enlarging, without either the deepening of the old, or the opening of new drains or channels for superfluous existence. And, to crown all, from that day to this, with the exception of some fluctuations, which the astonishing events through which we have passed, and the effects that these, or

mismanagement, or both, have occasioned, and may still occasion, the price of the necessaries of life has been diminishing, and they have been produced within the circuit of our own shores, in, I had almost said—(Lord Liverpool, when premier, did say it)—a profusion ruinous the while to the cultivators[1]. And this took place without having recourse to any extraordinary mode of minute cultivation, and while many millions of acres, as an untouched stock, still remained in reserve. We trust, therefore, we may, without the contamination of the "prudential check," go on labouring and hoping for a real improvement in the general health and happiness of the society.

(31) In a word, all the positive checks, as he denominates them, distributing them under eleven heads[2], have positively declined, and many of them disappeared from the civilized world. His words are, "the positive checks are extremely various, and in-"clude every cause, whether arising from vice or "misery, which in any degree contributes to shorten "human life." Here, then, is the test; one which I do not see it possible to evade. As the population has increased, have these checks increased in frequency and fatality? or, in other words, has the duration of human life, on the general average, kept diminishing? Just the reverse: in every European country of which we have any records of human existence, the population has greatly advanced: has the expectation of life, as it is termed, diminished proportionably? On the contrary, it has greatly lengthened, and in our own most surprisingly. Were it possible to trace this curious question accurately, I have not the least doubt but this would be found to be the case, in reference to the

[1] Lord Liverpool, Speech, 1822. Mr. Brougham, ibid.

[2] Malthus, Essay on Population, vol. i., p. 21, 5th edit.

changes in population, from the early ages of the world. I have given some references to Herodotus, regarding the scanty population of many of the countries on which he treats, in comparison with that of civilized Europe. Speaking of the duration of one of the dynasties of Lydians, the Heraclidæ, he says, they retained their power for a period equal to twenty-two ages of man, being no less than five hundred and five years[1]. The French translator, Larcher, reads this fifteen ages; Beloe, however, says the former reading is in every edition he had the opportunity of consulting. The one makes the age of man about twenty-three years, the other thirty-three, and a little more; whereas, the average age, in every European country, now greatly exceeds that term; in England it has been supposed, by nearly one-half, indeed upwards of a half, if we may trust our statistical accounts. But, not to depend upon criticism. The checks, therefore, according to Mr. Malthus's own final definition, where he explains them to be every thing "that contributes to shorten human life," have kept diminishing ever since our numbers took so decided a start; the irrefragable proof is in the elongation of human existence, a fact as fatal to his universal theory, as it is consoling to the feelings and conducive to the interests of the human race.

(32) In conclusion, it is acknowledged, in the very passage quoted, that the mortality from war and the plague, is nothing in comparison with what it was. The small-pox, which, it is supposed, supplied their place, as a pluralist check, is likewise defunct. I think, therefore, the consideration of the positive checks, as they are called, may be fairly dismissed with the observation with which I commenced my exami-

[1] Clio, c. 7.

nation of them, namely, that when, according to the very theory rebutted, they were not wanted, they were in full and fatal operation; now that they ought to be still more active, if an immense population can render them necessary, they have almost entirely ceased. If it be admitted that they have, one and all, a natural tendency to diminish as the population enlarges, the argument is surrendered; if it be denied, the dispute is renewed, but it is with the history and experience of mankind. But, I forget, there is another check, which is to supply the place of all these superannuated scourges of mankind, and which remains still to be considered, namely, the preventive check, or, as it is sometimes somewhat whimsically termed, Moral Restraint.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF THE "PREVENTIVE CHECK," OR "MORAL RESTRAINT;" ITS IMPOSITION UNNATURAL, UNLAWFUL, AND WICKED.

(1) THE last general check to population which remains to be considered is the "preventive" one, or, as it is occasionally denominated, Moral Restraint.

(2) In estimating the importance of this check, we must advert to the effects it has to produce. The immense and constantly increasing disparity, said to exist naturally between the increase of human beings and that of their food, has been already stated, amounting, according to the theory which professes to pronounce very precisely upon the subject, in a single century, to four times the number that could be sustained; in two centuries, exceeding the level of the means of subsistence in the proportion of 256 to 9; and in three, in that of 4096 to 13; and so on, in a perpetually augmenting disproportion[1]. It is confessed, on all hands, that the other checks have so diminished as to be now almost totally inefficient, many of them indeed having disappeared altogether; the preventive check has, therefore, to effectuate, almost unaided, what all the others, when in full operation, could barely accomplish. How important then its office! How powerfully must it act in pressing down the mighty spring of human increase to its due level! How active, how constant, how palpable must be its operation! And, moreover, as this check has to reconcile, in some measure, the system of population to the laws of Na-

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 8.

ture, to the perfections of an all-wise and merciful Creator, and to his providence, (which, seen either in the light of nature or of revelation, appears to be a system of equal and everlasting benevolence,) how clear ought it to be in its principle; how equal and impartial in its impositions; how fully should it harmonize with the physical laws of our existence, and the best and purest feelings of the human heart! and, lastly, how certainly ought it to accomplish those results on which the theory which invokes its influence represents the well being of mankind essentially to depend!

(3) As the work under notice has several chapters devoted to the consideration of this check, and as its influence and effect are dwelt upon throughout as the redeeming feature of the system, I may be allowed to speak somewhat at large on a point which is thus considered, on all sides, as being of the highest importance; and I shall speak plainly.

(4) The first circumstance which shall be noticed relative to this check (and it is certainly one of a very extraordinary nature) is this: that, all important and redeeming to the theory in question, as it is now held to be, it was nevertheless nothing more than a mere after-thought. The general principle of population was stated with equal confidence, and the checks by which it is declared to be regulated were enumerated as decisively and authoritatively, before this had a place amongst them, as now that it is made a corner stone of the entire theory. A system which is declared to be so "pre-eminently clear," thus to change not merely the form and order, but the very matter of its proofs, and which is made to accommodate itself to every change, with equal ease and certainty, is scarcely reconcileable with our ideas of obvious and simple truth.

(5) But it is still more important to remark, that when this check was announced, it was propounded in such terms as to convey the idea that its author himself doubted its importance, if not its very existence. It is hardly conceivable, therefore, that it could have been contemplated as destined to supplant the "positive checks," as they are termed, in the great work of repressing population. At least I gather this from the author's own words. When speaking of his second and larger work compared with his first one upon the same subject, he says, "Throughout the whole of the "present work, I have so far differed in principle "from the former, as to *suppose* another check to po- "pulation *possible*, which does not strictly come under "the head either of vice or misery[1]." This language, in the very exordium of his work, seems, in my apprehension, to betray considerable doubts as to the very existence of this new recruit to the phalanx of those former checks previously mustered, the vices and the miseries of mankind. And many incidental expressions throughout his enlarged treatise indicate any thing rather than confidence, as it regards the very check which is now ostensibly put forth as the main support and apology of the entire system.

(6) I shall not attend to the difference which is occasionally made between the preventive check and moral restraint. Theoretically a distinction may be maintained, practically there is none; they are, and ever will be, as it respects the great mass of mankind, identified. Physically speaking, we may hold that it is possible for mankind to remain chaste, without marriage; morally considered, it is impossible. And it is worse than idle—it is immoral, indecent, and false, to assert otherwise. It contradicts nature, reason, scrip-

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, Pref., p. vii.

ture, and common sense, in order to build up a theory contrary to them all. But it is useless to enforce so obvious a truth: even Mr. Malthus himself admits it. He says, of this "virtue, I believe, few of my "readers can be less sanguine in their expectations "of any great change in the general conduct of men, "on this subject, than I am[1];" and adds also, in his concluding chapter, that "knowing how incompletely "this duty has hitherto been fulfilled, it would cer- "tainly be visionary to expect any very material "change for the better, in future[2]." He has, indeed, as we have seen, "allowed himself to suppose;" yet he intimates, that he has not given an equal latitude to his hope, for on this very head, he assures us, "few can be less sanguine than he." Indeed, he represents the passion between the sexes like a fixed algebraic quantity, as having a constant and definite force[3]; and asserts, that there are few countries where the common people have so much foresight, as even to defer marriage from prudential motives[4]. As to our own, the whole of his treatise, practically considered, is founded upon a contrary opinion; hence, the tremendous expedient he recommends, in order to enforce the preventive check, moral restraint, or whatever it may be called, namely, the utter abrogation of the natural right of poverty and destitution to support, so long and happily established in this and almost every other Christian country.

(7) It appears, however, that this latter addition to the theory of population was made as an endeavour to "remove any imputation on the goodness of the Deity." But how these imputations, which he seems conscious the theory naturally generates, and

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 504.
[2] Ibid., p. 598.
[3] Ibid., p. 347.
[4] Ibid., p. 241.

which it most certainly does, whether it be acknowledged or not, should be removed, by allowing ourselves to hope what we do not believe, appears inexplicable. Such a method of defending or honouring GOD requires little comment.

(8) But whether the author in question admits the necessary consequences of the universal operation of the preventive check, or not, is immaterial; they are certain. To reconcile it in its effects, with general morality, is impossible. Under certain circumstances, or in exempt cases, its existence, accompanied by purity of conduct, is supposable. To these, a few words may be devoted.

(9) Concerning instances of natural defect, which are clearly alluded to by the Author of our religion[1], no dispute can arise. And again, the natural propensity is in some others, perhaps, so slight and manageable, as readily to yield in balancing the conveniences and supposed inconveniences of the marriage state. Furthermore, I believe purity of conduct may be preserved in celibacy, even when the constitutional propensity remains in its ordinary state, when some strong duty or great obstacle interposes, and the conduct is influenced by high moral principle, guarded by the most vigilant circumspection. But I must say, that I fear the chance is slight indeed, when the motive, put forth by Mr. Malthus, alone operates; namely, the fear of an inconvenience, or of a descent in "the ladder" of life. It is rare, indeed, that pride and purity of conduct, in our sex, at least, are convertible terms. This subject, however, will be shortly resumed hereafter.

(10) But a case of continence far commoner (would that it were universal!) is that which it is to

[1] St. Matthew xix. 12.

be hoped generally exists in early life. The most powerful passion of the species, balanced and controlled by that modesty,—which, as a French writer observes, is natural to human beings, and which is the strongest when its guards are the most necessary,—soothed by the prospect of its timely gratification, may, and does, in innumerable instances, exist with the utmost correctness of conduct. But fix upon this state the "preventive check:" let this fatal and pestiferous restraint interfere with this passion on its development, rendering it thereby the more seductive, and the more ungovernable, requiring and dictating a long and indefinite abstinence of the kind proposed, comprising the whole term of youth, properly so called, and then see what would be the consequence! Your strongest moral manacles would be like the bands on the hands of Samson, it would burst them as tow, and rise in tenfold strength, and become irresistible. The very attempt to interfere with the right of marriage, in any way, would either, on the one hand, precipitate that union, or, on the other, spread the demoralizing consequences of "moral restraint" to an extent hitherto unknown.

(11) Lastly, I will not deny, but that celibacy, when voluntarily embraced, from an enthusiastic, though, as I conceive, mistaken view of its religious merit; when its votaries are secluded from every object of temptation, surrounded by the symbols of religion, and incessantly occupied in the solemnities of sacred worship; when the awful vow, publicly taken, has been strengthened by a thorough persuasion of its efficacy, as it regards the rewards of another world; and when the principles and pursuits with which it is connected take entire possession of the mind; I say, I will not deny, that a life of celibacy

may, in many such cases, be one of continued continence. But even then it has been often found, that the feelings of nature have been so far from extinguished by the hopelessness of these lawful gratifications, that they have led to results to which it is painful to allude. Several of the Saints, (and many so denominated, I believe, were worthy of the name,) who placed themselves under the operation of this unnatural restraint, have recorded means to which they severally resorted, some of them of the most ludicrous, and some of the most painful nature; which, together with occasional miracles performed on their behalf, had, as they conceived, the effect of preserving the purity of their conduct; though it may be doubted, whether it would not have been better for the interests of decency and morality, to have left unrecorded their several victories, and the means by which they were achieved. But, by characters less determined and exalted; less saintly and mortified, than these, we cannot suppose that equal efforts were made, nor yet believe that the conquest could be achieved with less. If, then, the sanctions and asistances of religion have been found scarcely sufficient to preserve the purity of its votaries under the baneful influence of "moral restraint," what hope can we entertain of a principle founded upon mere personal expediency, or dictated by a regard for the general state of the population at some future period; in a word, when prescribed by political economy? Can we flatter ourselves, that it would not produce an universal profligacy and corruption of manners, destructive, ultimately, of all the elements of the social system?

(12) To say that by the preventive check, or moral restraint, is only meant the postponement of mar-

riage, (of the females to twenty-eight or thirty[1], that of the males is not, I believe, yet specified,) is only to present the subject in a still more formidable point of view. If the youthful period of life can be passed under the dominion of the preventive check consistently with morality of conduct, no apprehensions, generally speaking, need be entertained concerning the remainder. A great master of human nature tells us, in the person of one of his characters, the consequence of this version of the preventive check, and, singularly enough, avails himself of an illustration which Mr. Malthus has also used,—"They "will climb the ladder of matrimony incontinent," says Shakspeare, "or be incontinent before marriage. "Clubs cannot part them."

(13) Respecting this check to population, therefore, now put forth with such emphasis, and which is represented of such importance in regulating the number and increase of the species, thus much may be said; that, whether it is called the prudential, or preventive check, or moral restraint, or under what specious name soever its native deformity may be concealed, it is necessarily connected with vice, and its consequence is infamy and suffering: I say NECESSARILY, constituted as human beings are, "not by "means of a geometrical necessity, but from an ama-"tory one, which is much more efficacious to influ-"ence the multitude[2]." In speaking of this "innate necessity" thus, I am quoting one whom Mr. Malthus conceives to have comprehended the principle of population most clearly—I mean Plato.

(14) If, therefore, we consider this main check of the system of population under examination, it will

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 498.

[2] Ου γεωμετρικαῖς γε, ἢ δ' ὅς, ἀλλ' ἐρωτικαῖς ἀνάγκαις· αἵ κινδυνεύουσιν ἐκείνων δριμύτεραι εἶναι πρὸς τὸ πείθειν τε καὶ ἕλκειν τὸν πολὺν λεών.—Plat., De Repub., l. v., p. 22.

appear, in its principle and effects, unnatural, wicked, partial, cruel, impolitic, and, after all, wholly inefficient. To each of these points a few words will be devoted.

(15) In the first place, the preventive check is UNNATURAL; it is irreconcileable with the organization, the feelings, the duties, and the happiness of mankind; not meaning to confine the observation to the species in a depraved, but in their most perfect state, as proceeding from the hand of their Creator. But this part of the subject is too plain to need much proof; I will therefore dismiss it with a few quotations; the first of which shall be from one who, being neither a professed moralist, nor a divine, may, perhaps, have more weight with some advocates of the modern theory. Buffon says on this subject, "L'état "naturel des hommes après la puberté est celui du "mariage.—Le mariage, tel qu'il est établi chez nous "et chez les autres peuples raisonnables et religieux, "est donc l'état qui convient à l'homme, et dans lequel "il doit faire usage des nouvelles facultés qu'il a "acquises par la puberté, qui lui deviendroient à "charge, et même quelquefois funestes, s'il s'obstinoit "à garder le célibat. Le trop long séjour de la liqueur "séminale dans ses reservoirs peut causer des maladies "dans l'un et dans l'autre sexe, ou du moins des irri-"tations si violentes que la raison et la religion se-"roient à peine suffisantes pour résister à ces passions "impétueuses; elles rendroient l'homme semblable aux "animaux, qui sont furieux et indomptables lorsqu'ils "ressentent ces impressions[1]." Montesquieu coincides with these views; but I shall prefer presenting this branch of the argument, which is, in fact, decisive of the whole question, in the language of the

[1] Buffon, Œuvres, t. iv., p. 257, 258.

highest physiological and medical authorities, (restricting myself, however, to two or three of these,) and I shall, for obvious reasons, present their doctrine without translation.

(16) Haller says: "Natura ergo ipsa, et ad speciem humanam conservandam, venerem IMPERAT, et ad propriam sani viri valetudinem[1]." Hufeland thus expresses himself: "Le mariage est le seul moyen que nous ayons à notre disposition pour régulariser l'instinct qui attire les sexes l'un vers l'autre, et pour lui donner un but. Il garantit de deux extrêmes également nuisibles, l'abus et l'abstinence des plaisirs. Autant je suis persuadé que la continence est nécessaire dans la jeunesse, pour assurer une vie longue et heureuse, autant je le suis qu'un âge arrive où il serait aussi dangereux d'étouffer l'instinct, qu'il l'est de le satisfaire trop tôt[2]." His pathological remarks I need not quote, but his conclusion is too important to be omitted. "Tous ceux qui ont atteint un âge très-avancé avoient été mariés[3]." Well, therefore, may the "preventive check," or "moral restraint," have so important a part assigned to it in the geometric theory; it not only prevents life, but it shortens and destroys it. A few words from Gregory shall close these references, and they relate to the other sex:—"Justus scilicet veneris cultus. Quantum hoc in mensibus evocandis valeat remedium, plurimæ puellæ, donec virgines erant, pallidæ, macræ, male sanæ, felici conjugio, nitidæ, vegetæ, roseæ brevi factæ, non ambigue testantur[4]."

(17) If, then, this restraint is unnatural and injurious, it needs no further argument to authorise us to

[1] Haller, Primæ Lineæ Physiologiæ, § 828, p. 439, 8vo., Edinb. 1767.

[2] Hufeland, l'Art de prolonger la Vie de l'Homme. See § ii., ch. 5, p. 331, 8vo., Paris, 1824.

[3] Idem, sect. ii. ch. 5., § 3. p. 332.

[4] Gregory, Conspect. Med. Theoret., c. xxxix., § 1556.

pronounce its imposition UNLAWFUL; unless its advocates still further throw off the mask, and propose that one class of society shall often sacrifice life itself, and constantly all that renders life happy and desirable, that others may enjoy greater affluence and abundance, "undisturbed." But this, thank GOD, is not yet either the law of Nature or of nations. One of our first profane authorities, therefore, addressing himself to this subject, asserts, that the observance of what is now called moral restraint, is, as it respects the mass of mankind, all but an impossibility; and hence he declares that such an imposition is unlawful. "Quare facultas comparandi uxores adimi viris non debet[1]." Such are the words of Grotius. Hence, also, is it, that Buffon has denominated marriage "un droit naturel[2]."

(18) But the preventive check is not only unnatural and unlawful, it is WICKED; inexpressibly wicked, not only in its consequences, but more especially in its nature and design. Its avowed object is to check the increase of mankind; and this constitutes, according to the reasoning of Locke, the real offence of the whole class of unnatural crimes. "They have," as that great reasoner observes, "their principal aggravation from this, that they cross the main intention "of Nature, which willeth the increase of mankind[3]." Others, as little liable to be branded with the character of enthusiasm or folly as Locke, have taken precisely similar views on this subject. The very intent appears heinously wicked.

(19) That the prevalence of the check in question will lead to vice and immorality, is not denied by its most strenuous advocates; on the contrary, the conse-

[1] Grotius, De Beh Jure, ac Pac. l. ii., c. ii., § 21.
[2] Buffon, Œuvres, tom. iv., p. 278.
[3] Locke, Two Treatises of Government, part i., c. 6, § 56.

quences are at once acknowledged and palliated. "I "should be extremely sorry," says one of these, "to "say any thing that would either directly or remotely "be construed unfavourably to the cause of virtue; "but"—(we always know the meaning of these negative exordia)—"but I cannot think that the vices "which relate to the sex are the only vices which are "to be considered in a moral question," (who ever thought they were?) "or that they are even the "greatest or most degrading to the human character[1]." It may be here observed, that true morality, any more than divinity, knows nothing of this balancing of vices, so as to present them as the alternatives of each other; contrariwise, they are generally found the strongest and the most irresistible when they are the most numerous and in the closest confederation. But, not to dwell upon this fact, I shall proceed to shew in how slight a manner the degrading and injurious vice to which the preventive check leads, and which, as much as possibly it palliates, is regarded; and, on the contrary, how forcibly the supposed consequences of disobeying it, both as it regards the character and condition of the parties who marry, are depicted. "In "the higher and middle classes of society," we are told, "it is a melancholy and distressing sight to "observe, not unfrequently, a man of a noble and "ingenuous disposition, once feelingly alive to a sense "of honour and integrity, gradually sinking under the "pressure of circumstances, making his excuses at "first with a blush of conscious shame, afraid of seeing "the faces of his friends, from whom he may have bor- "rowed money, reduced to the meanest tricks and "subterfuges to delay or avoid the payment of his "just debts; till, ultimately grown familiar with false-

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 512.

"hood, and at enmity with the world, he loses all the "grace and dignity of man[1]." Such, it seems, is often the effect of not obeying the preventive check; in other instances, it is "a descent in society, particularly "in that round of the ladder where education ends "and ignorance begins";—to the level, in short, of "farmers and tradesmen[2]."

(20) Now, as to the effect of marriages in the rank described, it may be confidently asked, whether these tricks and subterfuges may be the most justly attributed to the husbands and fathers of families, who have so many inducements to honourable exertion, whatever be their pursuit, and to correct conduct under whatever temptation, or to those who accommodate their habits to the dictates of the preventive check? In which state is that economy most likely to be observed, without which no resources, however ample, can preserve a man from degradation? Which situation, generally speaking, is freest from that vice and profligacy, those fickle and ostentatious habits, that gambling and debauchery, which cost far more to those unhappily their slaves, than all the necessary expenses incident to their station in society? Who are the likeliest to fulfil best all those duties of life which are due to those around or beneath them, in the regular performance of which the true "grace and dignity of man" consist—those whose feelings emanate from the domestic circle, or those who take their lessons from the brothel? Is the married man of rank less estimable, less trustworthy, less punctual than the unmarried one of that station? Let those answer this that are below "that round of the ladder where education ends, and ignorance begins"—their "farmers and tradesmen." Is there no truth in the old English

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, pp. 513. [2] Ibid., p. 300.

proverb, that "a —— is more expensive than a wife?" In a word, where may we most confidently look for the best and most numerous examples "of the grace and dignity of man"—in the subjects of Hymen, or the slaves of Venus? Common sense, decency, and experience, instantly decide this question; while, whether by the watchful guardianship of a kind and superintending Providence, or, rather, by the operation of those causes which naturally produce these happy effects, the virtuous father of a numerous family is seldom observed to be the poorer, or his offspring the less prosperous, because of their number; but, as has long been remarked, directly the reverse. Thus is it "that marriage is honourable in all;" that it neither interferes with "the grace and dignity of man," nor betrays its votaries into that bankruptcy of circumstances, as well as of character, which is often the acknowledged consequence of submission to the preventive check. In a word, it is not by means of a wife, but of "a whorish woman, that a man is brought "to a morsel of bread!"

(21) In proceeding to take a view of this offence, and the effects which its general spread would have upon society, very different to that usually presented by the advocates of the preventive check, I would not take merit for any strong and extravagant expressions, either regarding this, or any other vice; I leave that duty to the divines and moralists; and, further, I wish to make a distinction between a charitable consideration of sin already committed, and presenting extenuations and apologies for its future commission, because I feel confident that the difference in thus viewing and treating the subject, is, in its effects on individuals and on society at large, immeasurably wide. Which course it is the duty of those to take

who address the public on the general question, is very obvious; I shall, therefore, describe the vices which the preventive check necessarily engenders, and their consequences, and, to avoid all objections, in the language of those who are well entitled to be considered as authorities on the subject of moral philosophy.

(22) [1] Paley, after having dwelt upon the public uses and advantages of the marriage institution, among which he has not forgotten to include "the encouragement of industry," which is but another term for the promotion of general prosperity, proceeds to describe the mischiefs resulting from the vicious intercourse with the sex, which he regards as its alternative, even in the least guilty form,—fornication. He expresses himself thus: "The first and great mis-"chief, and, by consequence, the guilt, of promis-"cuous concubinage, consists in its tendency to "diminish marriages, and thereby defeat the several "public and beneficial purposes before enumerated. "Promiscuous concubinage discourages marriage, by "abating the chief temptation to it. The male part "of the species will not undertake the incumbrance, "expense, and restraint of married life, if they can "gratify their passions at a cheaper price; AND THEY "WILL UNDERTAKE ANY THING RATHER THAN NOT "GRATIFY THEM. The reader will learn to compre-"hend the magnitude of this mischief, by attending "to the importance and variety of uses to which mar-"riage is subservient; and by recollecting, withal, "that the malignity and moral quality of each crime "is not to be estimated by the particular effect of one "offence, or of one person offending, but by the ge-"neral tendency and consequence of crimes of the "same nature. The libertine may not be conscious

[1] Paley, Moral Philosophy, Book 3.

" that this irregularity hinders his own marriage, from " which he is deterred, he may allege, by different " considerations; much less does he perceive how *his* " indulgences can hinder other men from marrying; " but what, will he say, would be the consequence " if the same licentiousness were universal? or what " should hinder its becoming universal, if it be inno- " cent or allowable in him?

"ii. Fornication supposes prostitution, and prosti- " tution brings and leaves the victim of it to almost " certain misery. It is no small quantity of misery, in " the aggregate, which, between want, disease, and " insult, is suffered by these outcasts of human society, " who infest populous cities; the whole of which is " a general consequence of fornication, and to the " increase and continuance of which every act and " instance of fornication contributes.

" iii. Fornication produces habits of ungovernable " lewdness, which introduce the most aggravated " crimes of seduction, adultery, and violation. Like- " wise, however it be accounted for, 'the criminal " intercourse of the sexes corrupts and depraves the " mind and moral character more than any single " species of vice whatsoever[1]. That ready perception " of guilt, that prompt and decisive resolution against " it, which constitutes a virtuous character, is seldom " found in persons addicted to these indulgences. " They prepare an easy admission for any sin that " seeks it; are in low life, usually, the first stage in " men's progress to the most desperate villanies; and " in high life, to that lamented dissoluteness of prin- " ciple which manifests itself in a profligacy of public

[1] Contrast this with Mr. Malthus's declaration:—" I cannot think that the " vices which relate to the sex are the " only ones, or that they are even the " greatest and most degrading to the " human character."—Essay on Popu- lation, p. 512.

" conduct, and a contempt of the obligations of re-
" ligion and moral probity[1].' Add to this, that habits
" of libertinism incapacitate and indispose the mind
" for all intellectual, moral, or religious pleasures,
" which is a great loss to any man's happiness.

" iv. Fornication perpetuates a disease which may
" be accounted one of the sorest maladies of human
" nature, and the effects of which are said to visit the
" constitution of even distant generations.

" The passion being natural, proves that it was
" intended to be gratified; but under what restriction,
" or what law, or whether without any, must be col-
" lected from different considerations."

He proceeds to shew these regulations from the Scripture and " Christ's Religion, which," says he, " with a just knowledge of, and regard to, the con-
" dition' and interest of the human species, have
" provided, in the marriage of one man with one
" woman, an adequate gratification for the propensi-
" ties of their nature, and have restricted them to that
" gratification." Such are the opinions of this great moral philosopher on the subject, which might be quoted at much greater length, were it necessary.

(23) One consequence, exceedingly prejudicial to morality and public decency, resulting from the "preventive check," does not seem to have been dwelt upon by Dr. Paley, important and inevitable as it nevertheless is—it is, that the contamination which it would produce, were it general, would pollute even married life. But this shall be expressed in the language of Montesquieu, who discusses the question with no reference whatever to religious feelings or principles, and may, therefore, be held by some a less

[1] Contrast this with Mr. Malthus's reasoning about "the grace and dignity of man," in a certain station of society, as being often lost by marriage.—Essay on Population, p. 513.

objectionable authority. After having alluded to this preventive check, as it is now called, he exclaims,—"Who can be silent, when the sexes, corrupting each "other, even by the natural sensations themselves, "fly from a union which ought to make them better, "to live in that which always renders them worse?" and he goes on to remark,—"It is a rule drawn from "Nature, that the more the number of marriages is "diminished, the more corrupt are those who have "entered into that state: the fewer married men, the "less fidelity is there in marriage."

(24) It must be further remarked, that precisely the same results must as inevitably follow the undue postponement of marriage, as a perpetual abstinence from it; nay, sometimes worse, as the afflicting consequences in this case are then often visited upon guiltless sufferers. It has been already observed, that the passion to be regulated is the strongest in youth; and if it meet with its irregular gratification previously to marriage, mischief will have been, in many instances, inflicted, which that state can no longer remedy. Notwithstanding the common proverb respecting the exemplary conduct, as husbands, of reformed libertines, the contrary is the lamentable fact; such are much more likely to pollute and degrade that state than to be reformed by it. Again, however, I prefer to deliver these impressive truths in better language than my own. I shall select that of Bacon, who, as having been himself unfortunate in the marriage state, cannot be suspected of being its partial eulogist. His words are these[1]: "Marriage is ordained a remedy for "unlawful concupiscence, and natural concupiscence "seemeth as a spur to marriage. But when men have "at hand a remedy more agreeable to their corrupt

[1] Bacon, Works, vol. vi., p. 418.

"will, marriage is almost expulsed. And, therefore, "there are seen infinite men that marry not, but "choose rather a libertine and impure single life, "than to be yoked in marriage: and many that do "marry, marry late, when the prime of their years is "past; and then what is marriage to them but a very "bargain, wherein is sought alliance, or portion, or "reputation; with some desire, almost indifferent, of "issue; and not the faithful nuptial union of man and "wife, that was first instituted? Neither is it possible "that those who have cast away so basely so much of "their strength, should greatly esteem children, as "chaste men do. So likewise, during marriage, is the "case mended? No! the depraved custom of change, "and the delight in meretricious embracements, (where "sin is turned into act,) maketh marriage a dull thing, "and a kind of imposition or tax."

(25) Nor from the catalogue of crimes and vices which the preventive check engenders, must those unnameable offences to which Paley alludes, as some of its consequences, be excluded; and which, however uncommon, are less so than is the loss of the "grace and dignity of man," through marriage. These shall again be described by other authorities. The intrepid Luther thus expresses himself: "All that contemn "matrimony must needs fall into filthy and abomi-"nable letchery; yea, also, in such sort that they "change the natural into unnatural uses, as St. Paul "says, seeing that they contemned GOD's ordinances "and creatures!" I shall not prolong this paragraph; the language of the law of England on this head is that of Nature and of Truth: "great inconveniences "*not to be rehearsed,* have followed of compelled "chastity."

(26) The reducing of the theory of population to a practical system, would have the effect of producing these unnameable offences. Nay, some of the converts and advocates of that theory have already begun to act upon it, by explaining and recommending, in a scientific form, and in plain and unequivocal language, the means by which the passions may be in some sort gratified, and the consequences (human increase) prevented or evaded. Some of these passages I had selected, and had meant to give them in another language,—but I forbear; in the words of the act of Parliament just quoted, they "are not to be rehearsed." Such are the auxiliaries, "most foul, strange, and unnatural," of the modern theory of population; such are the assistants of the "preventive check."

(27) Look at the countries where polygamy is permitted, and indeed encouraged; a practice which, just as it prevails, necessarily consigns a proportionate number of men to celibacy. The consequences are well known, nor do they rest with those whom it more directly injures; as Montesquieu reasons concerning libertinism, its contaminating influence extends universally. "The vice du pays" of Switzerland[1], that land of chastity and contentment, is, we are told, early marriage: contrast it with the vice du pays of Turkey, and mark the consequences; this has doomed some of the finest regions of the world to desolation and decay; and the country itself waits "to vomit out the inhabitants thereof."

(28) It is superfluous to mention that child-murder is among the number of the secret crimes with which the preventive check is chargeable in a state of civilization,

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 282.

where the very institution of marriage, with all the feelings and forms of life with which it is necessarily connected, becomes a positive curse, the moment that connexion is discouraged, upon whatever grounds.

(29) But I recur, in conclusion, to the idea with which I commenced in treating this revolting subject: I shall again express it in the words of Locke; the great wickedness of this check consists in this, that it purposely "crosses the main intention of Nature, which willeth the increase of mankind;" and which increase is equally commanded by the Deity, prompted by Nature, and required for the promotion of the happiness and prosperity of the species. Inexpressibly sinful, as well as presumptuous, is, therefore, any systematic and premeditated attempt to repress the natural numbers of mankind! Something is there inconceivably cold and dark in the endeavour to desert, upon principle, destitute poverty; to abandon innocent and helpless infancy, as utterly valueless; but, beyond all, the proposal to counteract, as far as in us lies, the prolific power of Nature; to lock up the springs of existence, except to the privileged few,—to "cut off the sequence of posterity!" To every passing generation, the Eternal successively commits the issues of life; such are, if I may so speak, the trustees of Divine Providence, and are answerable for the destiny of future ages. But if, then, our perverseness or corruption, or the puny efforts of presumptuous men, were availing, they might become the last surviving heirs, instead of successively the progenitors of their race. They might prodigally and selfishly expend the heritage of existence, instead of transmitting it down, according to its original entail; and bar posterity of the right of succession. Yes! in every interference of the nature proposed, existence is at stake! Exist-

ence! that best, and, as we believe of man, that irrevocable gift of the Eternal; that gift, of which the worm that creeps beneath our foot, as well as the first of created beings which bows before the Creator, is so tenacious: that mysterious principle, which images the Almighty's own being:—his highest work, which his power last called forth, and which he surrounds and sustains by his mercies; without which the Temple of Nature would be silent of his eternal worship, and Creation itself a boundless and solitary desert, in which the Maker's wisdom would be unknown, his goodness incommunicable, and that vital happiness annihilated with which he has deluged the universe. Let, then, the great, and the powerful appropriate, if they please, the surface of the world; let them take its wealth, its distinctions, and its grandeur; but, in the name of the Eternal GOD, let them not attempt to monopolize existence; let them not monopolize immortality! In the final home of human beings, the principle of population can be no evil; there, "are there many mansions," too many to fear that crowding which is here deprecated so deeply; let those, therefore, who, in their lifetime, have their good things, grudge not that happiness and repose which await the humble and the virtuous in another and a better world! But I forbear to pursue the subject, as prompted by my awakened feelings!

(30) There is a broad distinction made, it is true, between preventing beings from living which would otherwise emerge into existence, and depriving them of life when they have obtained it; and I well know, that those who regard the last as a crime, pronounce the former, under certain circumstances, which they declare always exist, a "virtue." But believing in the immortality of the soul, and the perpetual happi-

ness of the innocent after death—doctrines which natural theology itself inculcates; but much more viewing it through the medium of that religion which has "brought life and immortality to light," I confess I cannot fully comprehend the distinction. Nay, were I placed in a position to determine, could I unravel the mazes of future contingencies, so as to bring before me, by the aid of an unerring prescience, those who, in the natural course of things, would become heirs of immortality, and if I had the choice of shutting the door of existence against them, thereby depriving them of everlasting happiness, or of letting them emerge into life, and, after they had tasted of mortality, sending them to a state of perpetual blessedness, could I hesitate? Would I choose the former alternative?

"No! Heaven forefend, I would not kill their soul!"

(31) The last argument will have little weight with the mere political economists, who, as it regards this question, reject all consideration of a future state, as analytical writers do their vanishing quantities. The heathens of antiquity judged differently. But to shew that such a view of the subject is no extravagant effusion, even were futurity left out of the question, I will quote the opinion of a writer who has never been charged with taking too superstitious a view of any subject, much less one of a religious nature. In speaking of the means which have been taken by some parents in order to limit the number and charge of their progeny, by preventing the marriages of their children, (and surely, if the imposition of the preventive check is justifiable in any case, it must be when under such authority,) Hume thus expresses himself: "The ancients had a method almost

" as innocent, and more effectual to that purpose, to " wit, exposing their children in early infancy."

(32) In reviewing these various expedients of the preventive check, I speak seriously in asserting, that a far better than any of them, both as it respects humanity, decency, and efficiency, would be an early and somewhat gentler application of a remedy described by Homer, which I shall not venture to translate[1].

(33) I shall not allude to the guilt of patricide with which the preventive check, if generally introduced in the country, would stand charged; the pollution would spread till general depravity would contaminate the whole community, with those consequences in its train which are sufficiently adverted to in other parts of the present work, and of which the history of the world furnishes too many melancholy examples.

(34) Reviewing, then, the wicked and disgusting effects which have been enumerated, we may confidently exclaim, in the language of Burke, " Such " would, and in no long time, be the effect of attempt- " ing to forbid, as a crime, and to suppress, as an " evil, the command and blessing of Providence,— " increase and multiply!" In the meantime, however, hoping better things of this country than that its moral and intelligent people will believe such means necessary to regulate and repress their numbers, I confidently leave the subject to their determination. They will, doubtless, see and feel that, however it is palliated, and by whomsoever recommended, the preventive check is utterly incompatible with the morals, happiness, or well-being of the community; that, whether in its individual or general application,—"THE FORBIDDING TO MARRY IS THE DOCTRINE OF DEVILS."

[1] —— μηδιά σ' ἰξέμεναι, κυσὶν ὠμὰ δάσασθαι. Homer, Odys. xxii., v. 476.

CHAPTER XIX.

OF THE PREVENTIVE CHECK: ITS PARTIALITY AND INJUSTICE.

(1) But the partiality and injustice which the preventive check involves, as well as its innate wickedness, fully disprove the notion, that any such means can be in the contemplation of Nature for the regulation of the numbers of the species. It has been the triumph of moral philosophy to shew that the Governor of the universe has equally distributed happiness throughout all those different ranks and degrees of human existence of which society ever has been, and probably ever will be, composed. Nay, it has been asserted, that, as it regards the main ingredients of human enjoyment, health, peace, and contentment, the balance has ever been in favour of the lower, rather than the higher, ranks of life. The great moralist, Paley, has presented us with a pleasing illustration of this important and consoling fact. But, allowing this to be true, this happiness of poverty is founded upon the few simple enjoyments which Nature dictates and demands. It is not a state which presents a choice of, or a change in, the nature of its modest gratifications. They are found exclusively in the domestic scene. Rob it of the pleasures that are centered there, and it becomes a condition forlorn and wretched in the extreme; you "leave it poor indeed."

(2) But the proposition is, that this check shall operate upon this class of society exclusively; the

observations regarding the higher ranks are trifling and idle to the last degree; while, as it regards the lower ones, it is to be imposed under penalties of the most cruel, unjust, and impolitic nature; the consequence of exacting which would shake the whole social system from its foundation to its pinnacle, and involve the nation in present confusion and final ruin. But more of this subject hereafter.

(3) Now, it must strike any one, that the least attention to justice or humanity would have suggested conclusions of a directly contrary nature. The preventive check, if necessary at all, ought to be imposed upon those classes of society whose resources would, in some measure, make up for the deprivations it demands. But no! its victims must be sought for in the cottage; it is there that it meditates that desolating attack which would destroy all the supports and the solaces of existence, "at one fell swoop." The rich have ten thousand sources of pleasure, an infinite variety of ways, in which to pursue their several gratifications; the humble but one, that of domestic affection. The poor man has nothing, "save one little ewe-lamb," of which the cruel system I am discussing coolly recommends he should be deprived, while the flocks and herds of the privileged orders of the community are left untouched.

(4) It is true, that all those who have imbibed the notion of the superfecundity of the human race have not thus reasoned. A work which, like every thing else which has proceeded from the same quarter, displays great scientific attainments on almost all subjects, but which, on that of population, is not equally satisfactory, I mean Dr. Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopedia, seems to favour the modern theory, but to a

far less extent than many cotemporary works of a similar nature. But the remedy proposed is a sort of Houyhnhnm regulation of propagation[1], namely, that the married couples should be limited to the number of children which they should severally produce. This may sound whimsical, and not appear a very equal mode of distributing the privileges of the marriage state; yet it is what no man with a remaining spark of justice or feeling will deny to be infinitely fairer than the imposition of moral restraint as now proposed. Nothing can exceed the injustice, except the effrontery of those who lay no restraints upon themselves, and who are arrived, in many cases, at that period of existence when

> "The hey day of the blood is tame and humble,
> And waits upon the judgment;"

continuing to propose, that their preventive check should be imposed upon the youthful classes of the community, with whom its very existence is irreconcileable with either morality or happiness. If the preventive check be a duty, and constituted by the necessity which calls it into existence "a virtue," as it is pronounced to be, can it be imagined that it ought to cease even in the marriage state? It is said, by its main advocate, that Plato was one of those thinking persons who clearly saw the main principle of population; and the remedies it is supposed that he propounded, in consequence, are appealed to, in proof of it. It is to be regretted, that the fairness and impartiality with which, at all events, he treats the subject has met with no counterpart in the prevailing system. He fixed the term of life at which both sexes respectively should enter into the marriage state, and

[1] Swift, Works, vol. xiii., p. 265.

also, that at which it should terminate; and prescribed, that children so produced should be sustained and educated at the public cost; and that those which should be born before or after the period fixed upon, should be deserted, not murdered, as is sufficiently shewn before. But this regulation was imposed equally on all belonging to the class of citizens to which he refers, without the slightest distinction as to any difference in their condition of life. Whatever, therefore, were his views regarding population, they were free from that utter selfishness which is the chief feature in the system I am rebutting. The puritan writer, Cock, whom we have already quoted, also saw, or thought he saw, the strong tendency of population to increase beyond the means of subsistence, but his remedies evidenced the utmost possible degree of fairness; he proposed, that moral restraint should be equally imposed upon the proud and the rich, as well as upon the mean and laborious part of the community.

(5) But what are the propositions of the modern theory; the sole practical deductions which it holds forth, in reference to their bearing on the two great divisions of human society, the rich and the poor? They are as follows.

(6) Regarding the higher ranks of society, I have not been able to discover that any proposition which could have had the effect of imposing upon them the observance of the preventive check has even been advanced. In the principal work upon the subject, the sole suggestion which I can find as affecting them, is an attempt to rectify the precedency of old maids and young wives, and a recommendation that superior deference should be paid to the former: excepting this, it seems pretty clear, that the author

"would lay upon them none other burden." Against these, generally, I have nothing whatever to urge: let each case be judged upon its individual merits, as, I think, a Roman Emperor once said, in refusing his sanction to a law which affected an entire class. But a few words, especially in a work on Population, may not be misplaced, in defending the character of the matrons of England, who, for the first time in the history of English literature, are thus publicly arraigned, not because they are unfeeling or unchaste, but merely because they are matrons. The insulting charge is couched in these degrading terms.—"The "matron who has reared a family of ten or twelve "children, and whose sons, perhaps, may be fighting "the battles of their country, is apt to think that "society owes her much; and this imaginary debt "society is, in general, fully inclined to acknow-"ledge[1]." But it appears, both she and society are mistaken; for, he continues, "if the subject be fairly "considered, and the respected matron weighed, in "the scales of justice, against the neglected old "maid, it is possible that the matron might kick the "beam. She will appear rather in the character of a "monopolist, than of a great benefactor to the state. "If she had not married, and had so many children, "other members of the society might have enjoyed "this satisfaction; and there is no particular reason "for supposing that her sons would fight better for "their country than the sons of other women. She "has, therefore, rather subtracted from, than added "to, the happiness of the other parts of society. The "old maid, on the contrary, has exalted others by de-"pressing herself[2]": a point which he attempts to prove by assuming, as a fact, what will be demon-

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 549. [2] Ibid., p. 550.

strated, in these volumes, to be utterly erroneous. "On a fair comparison, therefore," he afterwards adds, "she seems to have a better-founded claim to the "gratitude of society than the matron[1]." "The parti-"cular motive which influenced the matron to marry "was certainly not the good of her country." He goes on to argue, that "the conduct of the old maid "has contributed more to the happiness of society "than that of the matron[2]." Before I present the conclusion at which he aims, I will address a few words to this revolting estimate of the merit of the matrons of England.

(7) Respecting the "brutes that perish," the preservation of their various species is obviously secured by one simple instinct of nature. The continuation of the human race was, at least, an equal design of the Creator; but as the intention had reference to an infinitely higher order of existences, so the means of accomplishing it were incomparably superior. The virtues of which the connubial state was ordained the uncontaminated source, required that mere animal gratification should, as far as possible, be *concealed*; and Nature shaped her course accordingly. She gave to the human race, and to that order of beings alone, that individuality of affection which, though resolvable into her primary design, appeared perfectly distinct from it, and enabled those who had conceived a mutual affection for each other to act under the impression, (and a pure and happy delusion it is, if it be one,) that they were prompted by a superior feeling to that of mere selfish and personal gratification: and it is a very powerful proof that this view of the subject is the just and natural one, that the stronger the affection between any two human beings of different

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 550. [2] Ibid., p. 551.

sexes, and the purer the parties that entertain it, the less conscious are they of being influenced by the impulse of mere animal indulgence. As it respects the female sex, it may be most confidently asserted that the physical motive to marriage is, generally speaking, wholly ineffectual, except the superior and irreproachable inducement of affection be superadded. In the paragraphs, however, which have been quoted, a different view has been taken. Not only have the feelings of the modest bride been cruelly misrepresented, but the claims to respect and admiration of the meritorious matron have been insultingly controverted. It might have been hoped that the latter had atoned for what we perceive is to be regarded as her original sin, by the pains and perils she has undergone, and that the maternal virtues which she has engrafted upon the connubial ones might have expiated her offence. It is false to assert that she does not lose her personal or selfish feelings in her maternal ones; that she would not sacrifice her life for the preservation of those for whom, in the order of Providence, she has risked it, in bringing them into existence. When, therefore, her swelling heart contemplates the heroes that she has given to her country, and who are exposing lives in its defence dearer to her than her own, the system is as false as it is disgusting which would rob her of that feeling which will be revered while there is a country worth preserving, or men to defend it. What is the nature of the theory which can thus coolly attempt to pollute, by revolting insinuations, that state which is the source of all the domestic and social charities of existence? Were its representations true, still, placing myself in any of the various relations of life, I abhor the attempt at this moral dissection. In the human species, and

especially in the female and maternal character, I repeat, the Author of our being has veiled, if I may so speak, the animal passion, by which it has pleased him to accomplish his final design of perpetuating the species, by that higher mental affection which is the strongest and most obvious motive of the union of the sexes; and though I am as conscious as those who declaim so much against population, of the latent impulse which pervades the human, as well as every other order of existence, I shall not, like the father of Canaan, attempt to uncover the nakedness of our common nature. On the contrary, it comports with the views taken of the general principles of individual and national prosperity throughout these volumes, to support the dignity of, and increase the respect paid to, the state of matrimony: that "holy state," as it is justly termed in the formularies of the church to which some of its impugners belong; but which they declare to be, in certain, and, indeed, numerous cases, if accompanied by poverty, a "sinful" one! We may, however, ask such, in the words of as great a judge of human nature as any of them, Shakspeare, "whether marriage is not honourable in a beggar?" We are answered, in the name of the Author of that nature, and of the institution in question, "marriage is honourable in all, and the bed undefiled;" and still, in direct opposition to the dogmas I am opposing, it is declared that it is the wilful dupes of the preventive check,—"whoremongers and adulterers," whom GOD will judge[1].

(8) But, to return to the immediate subject, the revolting partiality and injustice of the anti-population theory. Mr. Malthus deplores the superior respect paid to the married portion of females in elevated life; and proposes that, "with regard to rank, pre-

[1] Heb. xiii. 4.

"cedence, and the ceremonial attentions of society, "they" (the old maidens) "should be completely on "a level with married women[1]." As it regards the sexes generally, his ideas, as to the imposition of the preventive check on the higher ranks, are confined to obliging them to support their families. "Every "restraint beyond this, though, in many points of "view, highly desirable, must be considered as a "matter of choice and taste; but, from what we "already know of the habits which prevail among the "higher ranks of life, we have reason to think that "little more is wanted to attain the object required "than to award a greater degree of respect and of per-"sonal liberty to single women, and to remove the "distinctions in favour of married women, so as to "place them exactly upon a level[2]."

(9) Such, then, is the proposition, as it respects the higher ranks of society; a matter of mere ceremonial, on which I should think it a waste of words, in a discussion of such paramount importance, to dwell for a single moment.

(10) But what is the proposition as it regards the lower classes? The destruction of the poor-law! The confiscation of that share of the property of the country to which the poor "have clearly as much a right as the rich have to the remainder[3]," and the distribution of the spoil among the wealthy, who, thenceforward, are to be the sole legal possessors of all the bounties of Providence. The utter abrogation of a right prescribed by the nature of things, by the original principle of appropriation, by the institutions of GOD, by the dictates of Nature, by the laws of the realm. The annihilation of a prin-

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 551.
[2] Ibid., p. 552.
[3] Paley, Moral Philosophy.

ciple fundamental to civilization, and inherent in the British constitution, and which is, therefore, clearly deducible from the very foundation of the monarchy of England, and which, in some form or other, has survived all its changes. It recommends a spoliation of the helpless and the wretched, wholly unexampled since the time of the last Henry, and incomparably more atrocious than that; and proposes that the richest nation in the world should leave the indigent part of its people more wretched and unprovided than the same class in any other Christian country. That, contrary to the example of antiquity, whether amongst Jews or Gentiles,—contrary to the institutions of civilization at the present day, the wretched and indigent should be left wholly to the assistance of casual, uncertain, and private bounty, which also it discourages. And all this injustice, robbery, and cruelty, is to be perpetrated under colour of statements the most false, and anticipations the most unreasonable; while the policy which dictates such a course is as weak, or rather dangerous, as is the principle infamous from which it is derived. But on this subject I have already expressed myself somewhat at large in a previous publication, and shall resume its consideration still more minutely on a subsequent occasion: in the mean time, it may suffice to state, that the system against which I am contending, deliberately proposes to repress population by smiting down the natural and unalienable rights of poverty; and inflicting all that individual suffering and distress which such a measure would produce, were it possible to carry it into execution.

(11) Let us, then, again advert to the gross partiality and injustice which "the preventive check" involves; and this will be sufficiently explained in the

very words of its main advocate. Regarding the rich, it is proposed, that "a giddy girl of sixteen" is no longer, "because she is married, to be consi-"dered, by the forms of society, as the protector "of women of thirty, or come first into the room, "or be assigned the highest place at table, and "be the prominent figure to whom the attentions "of the company are more particularly addressed[1]." Regarding the poor, this is the proposal; and the contrast is the more distinct, because the idea of a feast is still preserved. The reader will doubtless observe how admirably the prosopopeia of Nature is adapted to the system into which she is introduced. "A man "born into a world already possessed, if he cannot "get subsistence from his parents, on whom he has a "just demand," (but he may have none in existence,) "and if society do not want his labour," (and he may have no strength wherewith to render it, if it does,) "has no claim of *right* to the smallest portion of "food;" (the law says otherwise;) "and in fact, has no "business to be where he is." (Is existence his fault, or that of GOD?) "At Nature's mighty feast, there is "no vacant cover for him. She tells him to begone, "and will quickly execute her own orders if he do "not work upon the compassion of some of her "guests." (Who are the exclusive guests of Nature?) "If these guests get up and make room for him, other "intruders" (intruders?) "immediately appear, de-"manding the same favour. The report of a provi-"sion for all that come, fills the hall with numerous "claimants. The order and harmony of the feast is "disturbed; the plenty that before reigned is changed "into scarcity; and the happiness of the guests is de-"stroyed by the spectacle of misery and dependence

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 552.

"in every part of the hall;" (amiable sensibility!) "and "by the clamorous importunity of those who are justly "enraged at not finding the provision which they had "been taught to expect. The guests learn too late "their error, in counteracting those strict orders to all "intruders, issued by the great mistress of the feast, who, "wishing that all her guests should have plenty, and "knowing that she could not provide for unlimited "numbers," (the numbers are limited, and so as to be fully provided for as far as she is concerned,) "humane-"ly" (mark that!) "refused to admit fresh comers when "her table was already full[1]." When was that the case? is it so now? Meantime, however, Mr. Malthus elsewhere apologizes for the privileged few, the "patentees for food[2]," bringing other than human guests to the table; even in this case there is no indignation, though, as Burke exclaims, "horses and dogs eat the bread that ought to sustain the children of the people."

(12) In reading this sentence it is difficult to describe, much more to suppress, one's emotions of indignation. It is thus, as Adam Smith says, that "the "fortunate and the proud wonder at the insolence of "human wretchedness, and that it should dare to "present itself before them, and, with the loathsome "aspect of its misery, presume to *disturb* the serenity "of their happiness[3]."

(13) The second passage about to be quoted is still more precise, and runs as follows: "After the "public notice which I have proposed had been given, "and the system of poor-laws had ceased with re-"gard to the rising generation, if any man chose to "marry without a prospect of being able to support "a family," (of which prospect more anon,) "he

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 531. See also p. 116 of this volume.

[2] Ibid., p. 398.

[3] Adam Smith, Theory of Moral Sentiments.

"should have the most perfect liberty so to do. "Though to marry in this case is, in my opinion," (and, doubtless, in that of many poor-rate payers,) "clearly "an immoral act, yet it is not one which society can "justly take upon itself to prevent or punish; because "the punishment provided for it by the laws of nature "falls directly and most severely upon the individual "who commits the act, and, through him, only more "remotely and feebly on the society! When nature "will govern and punish for us," (how admirably is this ideal character of Nature, as inimical to poverty, kept up throughout the system!) "it is a very miser- "able ambition to wish to snatch the rod from her "hands, and draw upon ourselves the odium of exe- "cutioner. To the punishment, therefore, of Nature he "should be left, the punishment of severe want. He "has erred in the face of a most clear and precise warn- "ing, and can have no just reason to complain of any "person but himself,"(which of us, starving in the midst of plenty, were the foregoing case our own, would thus speak?) "when he feels the consequences of his error. "All parish assistance should be most rigidly denied "him; and if the hand of private charity be stretched "forth in his relief, the interests of humanity impe- "riously require that it should be administered very "sparingly." (The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel!) "He should be taught to know that the laws "of Nature, which are the laws of GOD," (pray, was it not obedience to a law of Nature that induced him to marry? whose law, then, is that?) "had doomed him "and his family to starve[1], for disobeying their re- "peated admonitions," (when and where given or "repeated?) "and his family to starve!" (What! the

[1] I cannot refrain from applying to this prosopopeia the emphatic language of Milton:

"Impostor! do not charge most innocent Nature!"

whole family to starve? The innocent children to starve with the guilty parent; wilt thou destroy the righteous with the wicked? that be far from thee!) "that he had "no claim of right on society to the smallest portion of "food beyond that which his labour would fairly pur-"chase; and that, if he and his family were saved "from suffering the utmost extremities of hunger, "he would owe it to the pity of some kind benefactor, "to whom, therefore, he ought to be bound by the "strongest ties of gratitude[1]."

(14) Such are the practical deductions from the system of population now generally embraced, and they are worthy of it; but to say that they have the sanction of GOD and Nature, is an insult upon both. The wretch whom this theory has described as a moral criminal, is innocent in the sight of GOD, in whose presence he would have been, in all probability, guilty, if he had not done that which political economy imputes to him as "his inexpiable" sin. He has been deprived of that right to subsistence which is as legal and as sacred as the one by which the proudest among us holds his estates, or the benevolent monarch of the British empire wears his crown. He may be incapacitated for labour by lingering disease, or sudden accident or sickness; he may be thrown out of his employment by those changes and fluctuations in its demand over which he has no control, and by which the wealthy are alone benefited; but the moment he becomes in want, he is to be robbed of his natural and legal right, branded as a criminal, insultingly pronounced to be deserving of starvation, and private benevolence is warned to assist him sparingly, if at all; and if his life is preserved, (is life, thus circumstanced, worth preserving?) he is to be overwhelmed with the

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 539.

deepest gratitude: in a word, as far as the once benevolent but abrogated institutions of his country are concerned, he must, like another Ugolino, be left to starve in his cottage, surrounded by the clamorous objects of his affection, whom it would have been more humane in the country to have at once despatched, than thus to have deserted. And such must be the condition of all the poor when it may please their employers to dispense with their labours, or the political economists to pronounce them redundant. The recommendation, it may be assuredly asserted, has no parallel in moral literature, sacred or profane. It springs from a system false in itself, and the consequences of which neither GOD nor man would endure; it is sufficiently repulsive and disgusting to contemplate such a state of things, even in imagination; the reality would be horrible!

(15) In enforcing upon the poor the preventive check, the same author thus expresses himself;—"To "this end, I should propose a regulation to be made, "that no child born from any marriage taking place "after the expiration of a year from the taking place 'of the law; and no illegitimate child born two years "after the same date, should ever be entitled to parish "assistance." He further proposes that the clergyman should, previously to the solemnization of each marriage, inform the parties of this law, and read a short address to them, the heads of which he gives, and which are a few of the common places of our political economists, touching the immorality of marrying without a fair prospect of supporting their children; the evils of public institutions for relief, &c.: and this, he says, would operate as "a fair, distinct, and precise warning," after which, he thinks, no one could complain, however they might be afterwards over-

whelmed by misfortune, or abandoned in poverty and distress. It is difficult, however, to imagine, how this "fair, distinct, and precise warning," of so iniquitous an act of spoliation, could be regarded as any satisfaction to the sufferers. And all this, it is proposed, should be read from the altar, bearing the sacred symbols of a religion whose very essence is benevolence, and from which, in the service of the offertory, the most strong and touching exhortations to warm and unwearied charity are delivered forth; not the charity that consists in words, the "Be thou warmed and be thou clothed" system; nor yet that which confines its attentions to the deserving only, the Author of that religion, commanding us to extend it even to the unthankful, to the unholy, nay to our very enemies, if they are in need.

(16) If, therefore, this duty is to be imposed upon the minister of religion, it is highly necessary that the doctrines he has to enunciate should be revolutionised, and especially the marriage ceremony, which, as it stands at present, contradicts throughout, and in the strongest terms, the views now taken, and consecrates, with the solemnities of prayer and devotion, entirely opposite principles; which are worse than nonsense, if the theory of population, now propounded, is true. And even then, a fitter officer than the minister of Christianity might be chosen to announce the final destruction of the national charity, with which his very office and its revenues were originally connected. The common hangman, for instance, would be a more appropriate person for the performance of this additional duty, especially as the putting such a scheme into effect would, as Sir Matthew Hale has long ago observed, increase his duties, and be a first introduction to many of his ultimate victims: to whom,

however, when plunged into this destitution and distress, from which it appears they are by no means to be relieved, his last appearance would be as a minister of mercy.

(17) But much, and a very unfair use, is made of the expression, "marrying without a fair prospect of supporting their children[1]:" let us, therefore, examine, for a moment, its signification, which, it is to be regretted, has not, on a point of such extreme concernment, been more clearly defined. It will be found, however, that the omission is, to all intents and purposes, immaterial. But to gather, as well as we may, what is meant by this "fair prospect." There is not, it may be affirmed, one marriage in ten celebrated throughout the entire country, in which the parties could make out, to the satisfaction of our anti-populationists, this fair prospect of a livelihood for themselves, and probable families, under the various circumstances that may possibly befal them, so as to render them, through life, independent of assistance. Indeed, who, among the working classes, on their entrance into active life, could do so? Necessity, in every such case, is the mother of industry, as well as of invention. In possession of youth, and health, and strength, with industrious intentions, confiding in each other and in Providence; aye, and if it must be so expressed, "disgracefully relying" upon their country, if any unforeseen affliction or privation await them, (a reliance which I do not perceive is reckoned disgraceful, if it exist in a higher sphere,) the humble and affectionate couple fulfil the design of their Creator, and taste the only unpolluted pleasures which are accessible to a life of labour and poverty, and for which there are, as it respects them at least,

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 538.

no substitutes; the pleasures of mutual care and affection. The custom of their country and its institutions, as one of their own class, Bloomfield, beautifully sings,

> Give love and honest industry their way,
> And cheer the sunshine of life's little day.

And if those institutions did otherwise, if they effectually discouraged their marriages, and deserted them in their distresses, with that "dependent poverty," which, Mr. Malthus says, ought to be held disgraceful, would be driven out of the country, as Addison has well observed, its trade, its arts, and its wealth.

(18) But one of the most singular circumstances attending this cruel proposition is this, that though so much stress is laid upon the necessity of deserting those who have married without this "fair prospect," still, not the least advantage is held out in behalf of those who have married with it, and who may subsequently fall into unforeseen misfortune, a case which the most inveterate theorist will not have the face to deny is possible, and even frequent. In the destruction of the national charity, no reservation is to be made for these, so that the accusation against those who are said to contract improvident marriages is made the apology for deserting the entire class. It is idle to say, that private benevolence would amply supply the loss of the public provision, as it respects the sufferers under consideration. Private benevolence, under the successful pupilage of a system which teaches that the evils endured are traceable to the principle of population; that a man whose labour is not wanted has no business to be where he is; that even the sick and the impotent ought to have no claim to relief, it is not likely would be very eager to extend assistance to those, who, in a family which they were incapacitated to maintain, presented so many

living proofs of their criminality, according to political economy, proofs, the effect of which it would be hard indeed for the poor victims of misfortune to efface. Indeed, under such a system, the attempt would, in most instances, be hopeless.

(19) Much might be added, as to the dreadful effects of abrogating the national charity; the cruelty and suffering such a measure would inevitably occasion, especially in a country like this, where the population is so dense, and the nature and demand of labour so varied and fluctuating. The injury the lower classes must individually sustain by the spread of the "preventive check" among them will be shortly adverted to in the next chapter; in the mean time, I think it cannot but be acknowledged, that a system which only prescribes to the rich that they should reform their drawing-room etiquette, but which demands, as it regards the poor, the surrender of their natural, moral, and legal right to sustentation in their distresses, is, in the highest possible degree, partial and unjust.

CHAPTER XX.

ON THE PREVENTIVE CHECK: ITS CRUELTY.

(1) THE injustice and partiality of the preventive check, in enforcing its restraints, penally, upon the lowest rank of society only, has been already shewn; the peculiar severity with which its inflictions would be felt by that class, compared with the higher ones, has also been adverted to; but the latter fact demands, from its great importance, more particular consideration.

(2) Without contending, or believing, that the happiness which the marriage state confers can, in whatever condition of life, be, generally speaking, supplied from any other source; still, a moment's consideration will suffice to convince us, that when inhibited to poverty, it implies an incomparably greater injury than it would if denied to wealth; one indeed, which, in every subsequent stage of life, is totally irreparable. The condition of affluence, which voluntarily foregoes the connubial state, makes no sacrifice; its animal gratifications are the reverse of being surrendered; on the contrary, it is their corrupt indulgence, probably, which has quenched those sensibilities, which render the natural and permanent connection marriage requires, desirable. Meantime, it possesses means, potent to command all the pleasures of life, and all those personal attentions, which the condition we are considering universally enjoys.

(3) But let the advocates for imposing this yoke upon the poor, behold the consequences with which

their attempt is justly chargeable. To a labouring man of whatever pursuit, the wife is at once his solace; his assistant; his companion; his nurse; nay even, his servant. Imagine the projected change to have taken place, and then trace one of your poor victims of the preventive check through life, and which of its stages is not cheerless and wretched in the highest degree? See him retiring from his daily toil, to a dismal hut, where all must be confusion and uncleanliness; where, weary as he is, he must renew his exertions, in order to prepare his meal, which he must take in comfortless solitude. But I will pass over the misery of a state like this, without a companion or an assistant, in order to advert to another. See this man smitten with disease, and writhing under personal suffering; a state to which his labours render him peculiarly liable, and what then is his condition? without any to "make all his bed in his sickness," to soothe his sufferings and administer to his pressing necessities, "to preserve him and to keep him alive," or, if it so please Providence, to console his dying hour with the tears of sorrowful affection, and the certainty of a fond and faithful remembrance; instead of this, I say, he must suffer unassisted and unpitied; like a stricken beast, which, deserted by its kind, retires to his lair and expires in solitude and destitution. Will the political economists supply the place of those affectionate attentions which their system demands that the poor man should surrender? The idea is ridiculous! As it respects the poor of the other sex, the imposition of the preventive check would, if possible, render those who were its victims still more forlorn: and it is needless to state, that to dictate its observance in a certain degree to the males, would imply its existence in an equal extent among

the females of the same class. As it regards both the sexes generally, no misfortune in life could equal that of rendering them celibates; the Struldbrugs of Dean Swift's Luggnagg give but a slight idea of the neglected and contemptible condition to which they would of necessity be reduced.

(4) Nor is the wretchedness which the preventive check would impose upon the lower ranks exclusively, all, no, nor the chief part of the evils which it would inflict so exclusively upon that class. Much of the crime, almost all the infamy and suffering it occasions, are laid also upon poverty.

(5) We have already quoted passages, in which the guilt of an improper sexual intercourse is contrasted with what are conceived to be more degrading vices, and seen that "the grace and dignity of man[1]" is to be preserved, in many cases, by practising the preventive check. But it seems to be totally overlooked, that this "grace and dignity," when so preserved in the higher, is too often secured at the expense of disgusting infamy in the lower, ranks of life. I think it may be fairly asserted, that, notwithstanding the immense disparity in numbers, in nine cases out of ten, when the preventive check produces its foreseen effects, wealth is the tempter, and poverty the victim. Could we trace the general history of prostitution, we should find that, in almost every case, it commenced in yielding to the bribes and temptations of wealth; by which those who were afraid to forfeit the grace and dignity of man, by matrimony, and unwilling to descend two or three degrees in the ladder of life, assail unsuspecting and credulous poverty. Now, look at the different consequences, as it regards the two classes. How leniently the tempters are dealt with needs not to be

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 513.

pointed out; they may suffer somewhat in reputation, and but little in that respect, if the work before us presents a fair view of the subject; but, as it regards the tempted, probably no picture of human wretchedness can equal the sad reality of guilt and suffering which awaits them. I shall not advert to the misery inflicted on the parents of these victims of the preventive check, whose hearts are wrung with anguish, and, in many cases, actually broken. No; it is sufficient to advert to their ruined offspring, once adorned with youth and beauty, and invested with far greater "grace and dignity" than any of our sex can lay claim to; robbed, in the first place, of all that renders the sex desirable or estimable, and then deserted; (for such is the conduct of their seducers, who generally compensate themselves for their observance of the preventive check, as it regards marriage, by an unbridled licence in the gratification of their passions in any other form;)—deserted, I say, by their betrayers, who have launched them into a career of infamy from whence there is, commonly, no return; they descend, by a rapid progress, to still greater depths of misery and degradation: so that, fast as their beauties fade, life, with them, ebbs still faster, and rarely leaves them, as the survivors of their personal attractions, to a fate not less guilty and depraved, but still more forlorn and miserable. Thus, short and bitter is their career of accumulating guilt, remorse, and suffering; and as to their condition in a future state of existence, when, unnoticed and unregretted, they rapidly drop out of life, that is a thought beneath the recollection of the political economist, pious or profane. They had, perhaps, in their better days, as "noble and ingenuous dispositions[1]" as their de-

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 513.

stroyers, to whose "grace and dignity" in society they were, and are, constantly sacrificed. But no more of this; the system of our anti-populationists is as little one of gallantry, as it is of humanity.

(6) It is unnecessary to pause for the purpose of making a distinction between those converts of the preventive check, who are the first seducers, and those who are the more general and indiscriminate supporters and encouragers of this prostitution. The difference is that of the advanced guard and the main body of an army of hostile forces; and the gallants, in both instances, aspire to the former rank whenever they can obtain it. They are all accessories; there may be differences in the depth of their guilt, but it is of precisely the same nature. On this subject, however, I will refer the reader to what has been already quoted from Paley.

(7) Would that we could invoke the multitudes which have been actually sacrificed, body and soul, to this fiend-like "virtue!" Fair, innocent, and confiding, as they once were; glowing with future hope, and full of sincerity and affection, they felt the consequences of the imposition of the preventive check; became its victims, and were changed into all that is polluted, loathsome, and depraved. If, I say, these could be summoned up before the gaze of the warmest advocate of the modern system; if we could bid them

> "Come like shadows, so depart,
> Shew his eyes and grieve his heart,"

he would prefer death itself to the "grace and dignity of man" so purchased. For myself, if I should ever contemplate these, its inevitable results, without execrating the system which gives them birth, in the language of another of our bards, then

> "Dead to joy, forget my heart to beat!"

(8) Nor are even these the darkest or most fatal consequences of the preventive check. There are, among its victims, those who, seduced through the medium of the fondest affection, have been reduced to the level of the brutes; and, treated worse than they, who, in the agonizing struggle between remaining modesty and recent guilt, mingled with fearful apprehensions of shame and ruin, resort to the deed of child-murder! The thought is appalling, and, as it regards those who have occasioned this dreadful crime, hardly to be endured, if they have yet hearts to feel. What must have been the anguish of an individual who, stepping accidentally into a court of justice, beheld the minister of the law with the fatal indication of the awful duty he was about to perform already on his head, and heard him pronounce the doom of death upon a poor, young, fainting female, supported in his presence, for the murder of her infant, of which infant he found himself to be the father, as he had been the seducer and the destroyer of its mother! I lay to the charge of the preventive check almost every such murder and its expiation, though it falls on the least guilty individual. To prevent two or three descents in the rounds of the ladder, of which Mr. Malthus speaks, how many wretched victims have ascended another—to their execution! Such are some of the consequences, infamous as cruel, of controlling the first and purest impulses of Nature!

(9) But granting that the illegitimate children are allowed the chance of living, is it not most extraordinary, that the system which must have a direct tendency to produce them, and that from considerations of public utility, should nevertheless actually propose their desertion? Yet, so it is. It might be very

readily shewn, were it necessary, that the number of these unfortunate beings bears a very exact proportion to the prevalence of the preventive check; indeed, so accurate is it, that in those countries where, in certain months of the year, marriages are ridiculously discouraged, and their number at such seasons, consequently, greatly diminished, the amount of these births, at the corresponding term, is proportionately augmented. What, then, must be expected were these impediments rendered permanent, and universally operative? Undoubtedly, an increased number of these, the most unfortunate of human beings, who bear the punishment without the stain and demerit of personal guilt, and who are the most friendless and unhappy part of the human race. Their only support, often, at present, is the national charity, and that, it is strenuously proposed, should be withdrawn from them. The proposition amounts, in its consequences, to a positive sentence of death upon most of them. It is actually infanticide, in a new form. Mr. Malthus, I think, will justify this view of the subject; he says, "With regard to illegitimate children, after the proper "notice had been given, they should, on no account "whatever, be allowed to have any claim to parish "assistance. If the parents desert their child, they "ought to be made answerable for their crime[1]." The sentence, however, as far as the public are concerned, is as follows. "The infant is, comparatively "speaking, of no value to the society, as others will "immediately supply its place[2]." Whose minister is it that speaks thus? That of the lover and avenger of little children?

(10) Such are the consequences of the preventive check, and of the recommendations which are founded

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 540. [2] Ibid., p. 540.

upon it. We find, notwithstanding, the subject is thus treated in the work which puts forth the notions I am controverting. "A youth of eighteen would be "as completely justified in indulging the sexual pas- "sion with every object capable of exciting it, as in "following indiscriminately every impulse of his be- "nevolence[1]." An aphorism perfectly in its place, as found in the present theory of population; but concerning which, whether in reference to the age alluded to, when the exercise of charity (in which virtue, Bacon says, there can be no excess) is so lovely, and open debauchery so disgustingly infamous; or whether, as it respects the consequences of these opposite courses at any period of life, or of such a doctrine generally propounded,—as no language I have at command can sufficiently express my execration, I shall, therefore, not employ any.

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 559.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF THE PREVENTIVE CHECK: ITS IMPOLICY.

(1) But another view of the effect of the preventive check, in its mildest form, namely, that of a general postponement of the marriages of the lower classes, remains to be taken; one which, as far as I have perceived, has been wholly overlooked, both by its advocates and opponents, but which is, nevertheless, of so important a character, as to demand a separate consideration; and it is hoped, that a short one will suffice to place this boasted check in a light, in which its pernicious tendency will be instantly discovered, and seen to be beyond redemption.

(2) The Being who fixed the boundaries of human life, distributed its span into distinct periods; assigning to each its proper enjoyments and different duties, not merely in respect to the individual, but also in reference to those with whom such individual would be, in the course of Providence, necessarily connected: and the whole scheme of Nature is founded upon these close and essential relations. Nor is it given to the political economist, whatever be the apology, to vary or postpone at his pleasure, and with impunity, these terms; just so far as he should accomplish this purpose, he would inflict an irreparable mischief, not merely upon individual happiness, but on the welfare of society at large.

(3) Nature having made her computations, which, we may rest assured, are those most conducive to the well-being of her offspring, will not, happily for

them, alter or suspend her own laws. To attempt to do so for her, involves cruelty and injury. If the period which she peremptorily assigns for the development and gratification of the affections and passions be disregarded, and marriage be postponed, as it respects the female sex, for instance, to the age of twenty-eight or thirty, see the injury inflicted! To say no more concerning the vice and suffering which the proposition implies, not to mention the heartless nature of the proposal, which involves the sacrifice of the enjoyment of so large a part of life, and of that which is incomparably the most happy portion of it, as far as personal gratifications are concerned; let us remember the further consequences with which this delay thus dictated must be accompanied. The poor female who has to defer her marriage till that late period, will have lost her bloom, which fades the earlier from the constant labour to which she is exposed; she will, in many instances, have worn out those youthful fascinations, with which Nature adorned her, for the purpose of rendering her desirable to the other sex, and which, had they been surrendered to a husband before they had faded, would have blossomed in his memory to the end of life; she will very often have outlived the affection she had inspired, and have become an object of indifference, where she had once been that of the fondest regard; or, perhaps, have survived her lover, and all her hopes may have been thus blighted for ever. These cases would be neither fictitious nor few, were the virtue in question universally enjoined on the lower classes; they would have survived "the grace," whatever might be said of "the dignity" of the species. Will any one then, but a political economist, ridicule, or underrate the injury to the hopes and happiness of the vast but humble class in question, which

such a scheme would perpetrate? But I shall proceed to mention another of its consequences, which it will be difficult even for him to treat lightly.

(4) The preventive check, in materially postponing marriage, would not only counteract the plain design of Nature, in regard to the period at which that connection should take place, that is, when the passions are the least resistible, and when those affections are the warmest on which alone the happiness of future life can be founded; but it carries its injuries into every subsequent stage, and into all the relations of existence. As the term of human life does not enlarge agreeably to this unnatural interference, so it is quite obvious, that its inevitable consequence would be a disturbance in the natural order and succession of the generations, and of their relative ages, often fatal to the happiness and prosperity of the class affected by it, namely, the poor, for it must be still recollected, that the proposition has reference to the lower ranks of society only; and it is those whom it would principally injure, were it universally adopted. The parents in their declining days, instead of receiving the solace and assistance of their children, already advanced to the prime of existence, and, therefore, fully capable of yielding it, would often have to render it to their still infant or immature offspring: on the contrary, the latter would, in an appalling number of cases, be exposed to the irreparable consequences of losing parental affection and solicitude, when the attentions they prompt are the most essential to their future welfare, if not to their very existence. If the female has to put off her marriage till the age of "twenty-eight or thirty[1]," as proposed, unless we must again disturb the order of Nature, the corresponding age of the males, though

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 498.

not so relatively advanced as Plato and Aristotle mention, could not be less than thirty-three or thirty-five. This regulation doubtless appears, to the anti-populationists, "a consummation devoutly to be wished;" but, alas for their discernment! if carried into effect, the higher ranks would soon have to encounter the drudgeries of life themselves.

(5) What does the proposition, then, involve? Suppose the female marrying between twenty-eight or thirty, to have a child born at the latter age, then, as the mothers, among the poor, do not bear their children so rapidly as those in the higher ranks of society, for reasons sufficiently obvious; though, as will be fully shewn, they have larger families, the number of which, it will also be distinctly proved, this postponement would not at all diminish, we may assume her to continue to breed till forty, and the father to be forty-five when his last child is born. These, it will be perceived, are no exaggerated calculations, but are far within the bounds of truth, in a vast number of cases, were these evil proposals to take effect. Let, then, the advocate for them apply to an actuary, or refer to Susmilch, Price, or any other political arithmetician, and he will soon perceive the high probability that the poor couple would leave a part of their family orphans at a period of life, when, above all others, their loss would be the most deplored, and the deepest felt. Would there be less, on the average, than a fatherless or motherless child to every labouring family in the empire? Certainly not! But it is unnecessary to appeal to calculations. "Late marriages make early orphans," is a truth which it did not require a Dr. Franklin to enunciate.

(6) But this is not all. A poor orphan, under the

present system, is, of all objects presented to the feeling mind, one of the most deplorable; though the laws for sustaining the poor in this country, contemplate their preservation and future welfare. But what would be their condition under the guardianship of the theory of the anti-populationists, when reduced to practice, one of whose first and most important demands is, that the poor-laws should be utterly destroyed, and that these forlorn beings should have no longer "any claim of right to the smallest portion of food?" According to the present practice, the postponement of the marriages of the poor would, of necessity, greatly increase the rates for their sustentation; but, in the system recommended, there are to be no poor-laws. O rare Daniels!

(7) There is good reason, however, to believe that the proposition regarding the preventive check is not meant to be confined to the postponement of marriage merely, but that it implies, when its projectors think necessary, its inhibition altogether. This opinion does not rest upon the eulogies lavished upon the unmarried females of high life, and the adjustment of their claims to precedency; on the contrary, it is founded upon the requiring from the poor, that they should, before they enter into the marriage state, make out that fair prospect of supporting their families, which has been already shewn to be impossible, and which I defy any one in existence to believe that they could, generally speaking, render any fairer, as they advance further in life. In proof of this assertion, we perceive the acrimony with which late marriages are spoken of. "Such marriages," says Mr. Malthus, "must, to every delicate mind, appear little "better than legal prostitutions, and they often bur-"den the earth with unnecessary children, without

"compensating for it by an accession of happiness "and virtue to the parties themselves[1]." This passage again refers to the higher ranks of life, and clearly indicates that he does not require the postponement of marriage from them. The preventive check is meant for the poor only.

(8) But for whomsoever designed, or whatever it implies, whether the postponement or the forbidding of marriage be meant; just as it obtains, it defeats the order of nature, spreads vice and misery, and is fatal to human happiness and prosperity. And it will be the purpose of succeeding parts of this work to shew that it does so gratuitously, encountering the mischiefs which itself contemplates, without any prospect whatsoever of effecting the object it has in view.

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 524.

CHAPTER XXII.

OF THE PREVENTIVE CHECK: ITS DIMINUTION AS POPULATION HAS INCREASED.

(1) With regard to what are called the direct checks to population, it has been already, I hope, most clearly shewn, that their influence and operation have greatly diminished as population has increased. Indeed, the fact, as incontrovertible, has been admitted by the most determined advocates of the theory opposed. The business, therefore, of adjusting the numbers of human beings to their food, and of repressing the former, so as to reduce them to the level of the latter, is left to the increased operation of what is called the preventive check. If, therefore, this check also has diminished in its prevalence as population has increased, the fact must be fatal to the entire theory in question.

(2) The great mass of every community consisting of the lower classes, it is unnecessary to say that the proof of the prevalence of the preventive check must rest in shewing that it exists among them. But it is, perhaps, one of the most singular parts of the argument of the advocates of the prevailing theory, alternately to assert and deny the existence of the preventive check, as it is called, in this immense class. When undeniable facts oblige them to confess that the other and more direct checks to population have greatly diminished in their operation, then it is requisite to state that the diminution has been in consequence of the general observance of

this prudential restraint, as it is sometimes called. When, on the contrary, it is necessary to shew that the existing evils of society are attributable to superfluous numbers, and to point out the remedy for them, according to their views, then do they inveigh against the early and improvident marriages of the poor, and their non-observance of the restraint in question; which, they moreover observe, little prevails as it respects that class of society, any where. These contradictions are palpable, but the system is made up of them. When, however, the rights, feelings, or interests of the lower classes are discussed, then are their early marriages insisted upon, their reckless improvidence arraigned, the criminality of their otherwise honourable connexions pronounced; in a word, the evil is declared to be so great, and the consequent dangers so imminent, that the utter abrogation of the poor-laws, as it respects the deserving, as well as the profligate poor, is earnestly propounded as the only effectual remedy.

(3) Now, still to keep our eye on the vast mass of the community, with whom, in regard of their numbers, the national calculation must rest, it is necessary to observe, that one of two circumstances must be the fact. The labouring poor either marry early, or they do not. If they do, the preventive check in this country is a mere nonentity, notwithstanding all that has been assumed regarding its negative effects. Where, then, are the tremendous alternations which the system under consideration presents as the only remaining means of keeping down the frightful tendency to excess in the population, as compared with the food, of the country? Where are those bloody and desolating wars, those sweeping pestilences, those terrible famines, those horrible infanticides, which we

are taught to believe would then be the necessary and only conservators of the general happiness and plenty of the community? Where! In the frightful systems of the anti-populationists; and, thank GOD, there only!

(4) But if the labouring poor do not marry early, and the preventive check does prevail generally among that class, what then becomes of those direct attacks, and still more galling insinuations, against them upon this head? Let the labouring poor of England have, at least, justice, from a system which deliberately denies them mercy! Let the anti-populationists no longer head the false accusations against a class which must, of consequence, be unspeakably meritorious in their eyes; rather let it be acknowledged that they postpone, if they do not finally forego, the sole solace and comfort which fate awards them in this life, (an infinitely greater sacrifice than the same conduct could become in any other rank,) in order to preserve their independence, or rather to avoid burdening those for their occasional relief whom their toils are constantly serving and enriching. Let it be proclaimed that this meritorious rank, who are neither philosophers, nor divines, nor economists, make a greater and more disinterested sacrifice than any such; that they cheerfully labour till the short span of their life is still shortened by their toils, and, while so doing, defraud the morning of their days of its only sunshine, that they may not cast a transient shade upon the bright and lengthened day of prosperity which their richer fellow-creatures enjoy. Regarding this class, therefore, let it be the study of their betters to benefit them; instead of robbing them of their birthright, and furnishing to hearts naturally too hard, and seldom softened by prosperity, those arguments

which will ever be ready to present themselves to justify neglect of the wretched and the desolate. In a word, if, as it is assumed when the argument of the theorists requires it, that the labouring poor do obey the preventive check, how have they attempted to reward this meritorious class, and how do they justify their propositions concerning them? When their theory has to be sustained, as it respects the country, then its population are represented as obedient to the preventive check; when the national charity has to be attacked, then they are as confidently asserted to be regardless of it. It is high time that this duplicity were abandoned; it is injurious and discreditable.

(5) But the people of this country do marry, and marry early. If this, under their circumstances, be a crime, then "they are the most offending souls alive." A single sum in arithmetic would go far to settle this fact: having the number of annual marriages and the amount of the population, we can soon arrive at the proportion, and we shall find it to be great when compared with that in almost any other country. But this is not all; the superior longevity of the inhabitants of England must be taken into the computation, when it will be seen that the relative number of the weddings is still greater. The error fallen into by our calculating anti-populationists is great and palpable, and is utterly subversive of the whole of their deductions on this branch of the subject, and, indeed, of their entire theory; but as this is made matter of consideration in a subsequent Book of this treatise, where the point is discussed somewhat at large, I shall content myself here with asserting, that the preventive check, generally speaking, does not prevail in England, all that its advocates have said to the contrary notwithstanding.

(6) I have also to state that this check, instead of

increasing in its operation, as the population has kept augmenting, has regularly diminished in its influence: but this decisive fact, likewise, will be fully substantiated in the second volume of this work, to which the numerical part of the argument will be principally confined, and where it is believed the assertion will be placed beyond the reach of doubt or cavil.

(7) But though I speak thus decisively regarding the facts and calculations which will be given in proof that the preventive check has greatly declined, and that it hardly now exists in this country, still I am not so confident that the conviction as to its folly and wickedness will be so general, or that the knowledge of its being almost obsolete may not induce some inveterate anti-populationists to wish and attempt its revival. But how is this to be effected? "Aye! there's the rub!" To do so, by any direct means, would speedily shake the pillars of our social system to their very foundation. The time is gone past when such experiments would be either prudent or possible. No thanks to those, therefore, who inform us that they would not interfere by any direct laws on the occasion! As well might you attempt to interdict the use of those elements of nature which are still unappropriated, (because it is impossible to monopolize them,) as to interfere with this sacred right of human beings. In times past, laws have been framed, with such an intent; but even then they were wholly ineffectual. A puritan of the 17th century proposed their renewal under severer penalties; but, with a fairness of which the present projectors have shown themselves incapable, he did not propose that the wealthy should have unbridled licence, and the poor be solely restricted. He exhorted that the business should be generally and indeed nationally undertaken, with "divine and spi-

"ritual breathings after GOD, in the sense of our own "weakness." I have only to add, that such a sense would not be wanting if the attempt were really made. The saints, I mean the ancient and conscientious ones, though moved by a strong and enthusiastic, but, I think, mistaken feeling of religion, found, and have fully recorded, a "sense of their own weakness," under restraints voluntarily imposed. The commonalty, sinners as they are, would, under any compulsory restriction of the magistrate or the country, soon find another sense besides that of their weakness—that of their strength, and would rise against such an outrage upon the rights of Nature and the laws of GOD, and call their oppressors to an account as severe as it would be certain. Nor would the consequences be evaded, by the attempt being transferred to the rising generation, as is the cowardly proposition of the theory opposed.

(8) But lastly, what will the advocates of the preventive check have to say, when they find that, were their proposition relative to the postponement of marriages, even to the extent they seem to wish, carried into effect, the consequence would be any thing rather than that which they so confidently anticipate? Nature, knowing the benevolence of her designs, has secured their fulfilment against any meddling interruption or assault that durst be attempted. Allowing to the check in question very ample range, (and still, as it will be fully shown hereafter, the number of children would by no means be diminished,) it would, were it listened to, only "keep the word of promise to the ear, and break it to the sense." Or if so far imposed as to be operative, like all other forced and unnatural remedies, it would relieve by ultimate destruction.

CHAPTER XXIII.

ON THE CHECKS TO POPULATION: THEIR MORAL DEFENCE CONSIDERED AND REFUTED.

(1) BEFORE concluding this examination of the checks to population, it seems necessary to notice an argument often put forth in their favour, which is intended to reconcile them to the principles of natural and revealed religion.

(2) An author, in the Supplement to the Encyclopedia Britannica, who may be readily recognized as Mr. Malthus, seeing the importance of the objection to his theory, naturally arising from those principles as hitherto understood, has attempted, very unsuccessfully, as I think, to meet it. He admits, that if the principle of population, as given forth by him, "impeaches the "goodness of the Deity, and is inconsistent with the "letter and spirit of the Scriptures, the objection "would be the most serious one which has been "brought forward; but the answer to it," he says, "is very obvious, and it may be compressed into a "very small compass[1]." The sum of this answer is as follows:—"The evils arising from the principle of "population are exactly of the same kind as the evils "arising from the excessive or irregular gratification "of the human passions in general, and may be "equally avoided by moral restraint."

(3) A more important series of fallacies, than ap-

[1] Ency. Brit. Supp., Article Population.

pear in this short sentence, were never crowded into an equal space; they are, however, so palpable that the slightest notice may suffice for their full exposure. The human passions, it hardly need to be remarked, have their appointed and proper gratification, through which, it is equally clear, they conduce to individual and general advantage: this doctrine, divines as well as moralists have ever maintained, and Burke has emphatically observed upon the injurious, as well as wicked consequences which are the certain result of attempting to interrupt their due enjoyment. As it respects the sexual propensity; who ever found, in any system whatever, excepting this, the notion put forth, that the marriage state was either its "excessive or irregular gratification," or that it was other than its pure, lawful, and necessary consequence? On the contrary, it is the vices to which the prevention of marriage, however accomplished, naturally leads, and which the very system under examination contemplates, nay, even palliates, as the consequences of its own proposal, vices which are inevitable, whether contemplated there or not, which constitute the "excessive and irregular gratification" of this passion. When, therefore, this author confounds the regular and proper use of the state of matrimony, as dictated by the laws of GOD and the institutions of civilization, with the excessive and irregular gratification of human passions in general, he reverses the whole system of morals and religion.

(4) The restraining of marriage, under whatever pretence, is never, in any part of the Scriptures, for one moment sanctioned. On the contrary, the primary command and blessing of the Deity are, "INCREASE AND MULTIPLY!" Now, if we so construe this positive command, as to make it an optional

one—(which, under the conditions Christianity imposes, it will be a difficult task to do)—still, can any one with the least claim to common sense interpret it, in any instance, into a positive prohibition? Only one similar method of exposition has, as far as I recollect, ever yet been attempted, namely, that put upon the command given by St. Paul to Timothy, that a bishop should be the husband of one wife, which is often construed, practically, into a law that he is to be the husband of none. Again, on the same authority to which this anti-population apologist alludes, it is declared, that "marriage is honourable in all:" he, however, pronounces it to be, in many instances, the excessive and irregular gratification of a mere passion; and that it is, under circumstances which, as he explains them, are almost universal, a positive "sin." Elsewhere he deems it a pleasing proof of the truth of Christianity, that its doctrines thus accommodate themselves to the varying circumstances predicated in his system. That religion advances, however, I think, a far more strong and permanent, though, perhaps, to the anti-populationists, a less "pleasing" claim to universal acceptance, in that its principles and duties are settled, and that none of them are mutable or transitory: that it does not, as one of its brightest ornaments has observed, make "morals ambulatory[1]." In a word, nothing can be more contrary to reason, scripture, and truth, than the assertion, that marriage is the irregular and excessive gratification of the human passion which prompts it.

(5) But the writer previously alluded to, says, "It "is almost universally acknowledged, that both the "letter and the spirit of revelation represent this "world as a state of moral discipline and probation."

[1] Sir Thomas Browne.

Certainly: but "the state of moral discipline and probation," relative to this passion, is to preserve purity both of mind and person, by means of marriage, and not independent of it. And, according to the letter and spirit of revelation throughout, as well as the inspiration of common sense, reinforced by human experience, it is clear, that the appointed means are as necessary to the end in this, as in all other cases. The Church to which this author, it is presumed, belongs, is quite explicit upon this head; and it is for no other reason, than because of the consequences which this ordinance averts, and the purity which it ensures, that it denominates matrimony a "holy state." And let not our political moralists fear, but that if the remedy against one of the most injurious and degrading of vices be adopted, there will still remain sufficient trials and temptations, especially as it regards the class mainly concerned, to constitute this world "a state of moral discipline and probation."

(6) Revealed religion, if it justify its claims to a divine origin, has left no new discoveries in the science of morals to the political economists. The duties it has clearly enunciated, demand, in order to their due discharge, the utmost vigilance; and, I think, he acts the part of a very suspicious advocate of Christianity, who would supplement the comprehensive catalogue of human virtues, which it enunciates, by any new or more rigid observances. Such additions may, perhaps, be denominated "virtues;" but, in their nature and effects, they will be found vices. At all events, the preventive check is no virtue of the code of Divine Revelation.

(7) That this check is no virtue is sufficiently clear, in that its observance is unnatural, and,

whether morally or physically regarded, injurious. Enough, however, has been advanced on this head; I shall, therefore, only remark, that it is utterly impossible it should be sanctioned by the great Author of nature, either in those laws which he has indicated by the light of reason, or more fully expounded by direct revelation.

(8) The duties of human beings, as revealed in Scripture, may be clearly resolved into a series of regulations, having a special regard to the well-being of man here and hereafter. As it respects the Mosaic dispensation, however, some of its laws have a peculiar reference to the circumstances in which, for very important purposes, the Israelites were placed; but these were still not only conducive to their particular advantage, but preparatory to the future welfare of the human race. Now, as Judea was, as contemplated by prophecy, what it afterwards assuredly became, one of the most populous regions that ever existed; and as its surface, which was narrowly limited, was, in many parts, irretrievably barren, if the principle of population had been that of nature, the evils, moral and physical, to which it would have led, must have been more severely felt, and more generally noticed there, than in any country under the sun. How, then, is it that the anti-populationists, who, lastly, appeal to Revelation in favour of their theory, account for the fact, that in no one part of the sacred records is there the least recognition, direct or indirect, of the "virtue" they enunciate; and which, according to their confident assertions, can alone save society from the most appalling misery, and the most degrading vice? How happens it that the very contrary conduct is prescribed and enforced in every possible manner whether as a sacred command and blessing; as con-

nected with promises of future happiness, individual or general; or as constituting, in its consequences, a mark of the Divine complacency towards the nation at large? Why was it that all the institutions of the Jews, re-inforced by their constant habits, should have led directly to early and universal marriage, regarding, as they did, human increase as the first of blessings, whether personally or nationally considered; and yet that they interdicted that increase when produced by any other means than this sacred institution, visiting the offence, when it occurred, with penalties unknown in any other code, human or divine[1]? If the principle of population, as recently advanced, be true, never could there be a system of policy more adverse to the interests of human beings than that propounded by Revelation, its very virtues administering to the miseries of mankind by results the most direct and irremediable.

(9) Much less does Christianity sanction the principle of human superfecundity. Its doctrines are still more irreconcileable with the consequences of that theory. One text is quoted, and indeed so frequently, as to show how few there are which can by any possibility be tortured into an apparent sanction of any of the views it entertains. "He that will not work, neither let him eat." Does this mean, then, that he that has no work, neither shall he eat? or, he that cannot work, therefore let him starve? Part of an Epistle of St. Paul is also referred to in respect to his advice to some of those whom he addressed, to remain as he then was, that is, unmarried; which advice he gives, as he himself explains, not of commandment from GOD, but permissively; and he

[1] "There shall be no whore of the "daughters of Israel."—Deut. xxiii., 17. See ch. xxii., 21, &c.

"A bastard shall not enter into the "congregation of the Lord; even to his "tenth generation, he shall not enter "into the congregation of the Lord."—Deut. xxiii. 2.

afterwards states his reason for so giving it to the Corinthian Christians, namely, "because of the present distress;" the church being then under grievous persecution. But his general direction touching what is now termed the preventive check is decisive. "Nevertheless," he says, (notwithstanding the persecution of this primitive church,) "to avoid fornication, let "every man have his own wife, and let every woman "have her own husband;" a doctrine which he continues to enforce in the succeeding paragraphs. And again, in giving his special instructions to Timothy, he says, that even "a bishop must be the husband of "one wife;" but as to the duty of marriage, more generally considered, he expressly declares himself; "I "will therefore that the younger women marry and "bear children." Finally, he leaves this solemn record of his judgment regarding the preventive check, and, as he professes, under the express sanction of the Spirit of God, "the forbidding to marry is the doctrine of "devils!"

(10) But we are enabled to appeal to the Divine Author of our religion on this important point. It is represented that moral restraint is an optional, indeed it could not otherwise be a possible, virtue. But what says the Saviour upon this precise subject? Speaking of abstinence from marriage, his doctrine is, "All men cannot receive this saying," and he furthermore limits its application thus, "but they to whom it is given." Now, to whom is it given? Hear, ye political moralists and anti-populationists, who presume to quote his Divine institution in behalf of your corrupt system and its consequences!—it is given to those, and to those only, who, in a state of celibacy, can "look upon a woman" without "lusting after her in his heart." Now, be ye the judges how far your doc-

trine would, on strictly Christian principles, (and on those only, let it be remembered, we are now arguing,) limit population! He left this matter, where it had been more to the credit of our theorists had they left it; to the natural and moral feelings of those to whom he addressed himself. They recommend a different, and indeed an impossible course.

(11) I proceed. Immediately upon the promulgation of this truth, we read that they (signifying, probably, the females, whom the purity and benevolence of his doctrines, and his discourse on the origin and duties of the marriage state had, doubtlessly, attached to him) brought infants to him. Did he, in the canting terms of the modern system, insultingly remind the mothers of their selfishness, tell them that their children burdened the world with "superfluous numbers;" that they were, "comparatively speaking, of no value?" No. His disciples, indeed, rebuked them, though on very different grounds; but Jesus said, "Suffer little children, and forbid them not. He took "them up in his arms and blessed them!" Political economist, go and do thou likewise, or appeal no longer to the religion of the lover and avenger of little children.

(12) The author already quoted goes on to express himself thus: "it follows, then, that the principle of "population, instead of being inconsistent with Re- "velation, must be considered as affording strong ad- "ditional proofs of its truth;" and he further argues, that the law of moral restraint which that principle enjoins, is of such a nature as to reward those who obey it with happiness both here and hereafter; and hence he infers that it accords with the views of a benevolent Creator. And he lastly adds, that every individual has the power of avoiding the evil conse-

quences to himself and society resulting from a contrary conduct, by the practice of a virtue dictated, as he supposes, by the light of nature, and sanctioned by revealed religion. It only needs to be observed that the practice in question is contrary to the author's own admissions, contrary to the unalterable laws of Nature, and to the express declarations of Jesus Christ himself. A duty, wholly impracticable as it respects the great mass of the community, is a very singular sort of virtue, and its reward here or hereafter a very slight privilege. But the supposition is unworthy of a further word.

(13) The consequences to which this pretended virtue necessarily leads, have already been pointed out; let its advocates gainsay them if they deem it possible so to do.

(14) On the whole, therefore, the Author of our religion knew nothing of the principle of population according to the prevailing notion on the subject. Its one virtue he never once recognizes; his doctrines counteract its operation in the utmost possible degree, while all the institutions of his church are such as to lead to what the same system stigmatizes as the vices most injurious to the interests and happiness of society. The very feelings which Christianity inspires and demands are utterly inconsistent with the letter and spirit of the entire theory. While obeying the commands, and practising the duties it enjoins, amongst which the preventive check will be sought for in vain, it reprehends that anxiety about the continued supply of the necessaries of existence, which distrusts the wisdom or benevolence of the heavenly Father, while the divine instructor, pointing to the abundance wherewith the Universal Parent provides for those of his creation, whose multiplication is evi-

dently unrestrained, founds thereon a visible demonstration that the power and benevolence of the Deity stand engaged in a far higher degree to feed and clothe those of his creatures to whom he has rendered the rest of creation subservient. Unbounded charity, the exercise of which our anti-populationists represent as injurious, and, indeed, impossible, and would, therefore, greatly restrict, he has pronounced to be the first duty, and indeed business, of human beings. Lastly, to that life of righteousness which he prescribes, and with which the preventive check has nothing to do, excepting, perhaps, often to pollute it, he promises the addition of all that is needful—in a word, happiness here and hereafter. But what says another and a different authority? Without obedience to the preventive check, he asserts that the universal prevalence of every known virtue, in the greatest conceivable degree, would fail of rescuing society from the most wretched and desperate state of want, and all the diseases and famines which usually accompany it[1]. The vice and impurity to which the main virtue of the system necessarily leads, have been already dwelt upon, and are wholly inconsistent with the doctrines of religion. No two systems can be more opposite, both in their letter and spirit, than that of Population, as now expounded, and Christianity.

(15) But what is called "moral restraint," or the "preventive check," though the worst, is, by no means, the only check to population. The rest comprise that catalogue of human crimes and calamities which, it is held, long kept down the population of the world to "the level of the means of subsistence;" and which, it is supposed, the prudential check has not yet altogether superseded. These scourges of

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 493.

human existence, as necessary regulators of the numbers of mankind, it is also agreed by some, are not inconsistent with the wisdom or benevolence of the Governor of the universe; though such think that it is a mere after-concern to "reconcile the undeniable "state of the fact to the attributes we assign to the "Deity." "The purpose of the earthquake," say they, "the hurricane, the drought, or the famine, by "which thousands, and sometimes almost millions, of "the human race, are at once overwhelmed, or left the "victims of lingering want, is certainly inscrutable[1]." How singular is it that a sophism like this, so false, as a mere illustration, should pass for an argument, as it has long done! The principle of population is declared to be naturally productive of evils to mankind, and as having that constant and manifest tendency to increase their numbers beyond the means of their subsistence, which has produced the unhappy and disgusting consequences so often enumerated. This is, then, its universal tendency or rule. But is there in Nature the same constant tendency to these earthquakes, hurricanes, droughts, and famines, by which so many myriads, if not millions, are overwhelmed or reduced at once to distress and ruin? No; these awful events are strange exceptions to the ordinary course of things; their visitations are partial, and they occur at distant intervals of time. While Religion has assigned to them a very solemn office, Philosophy readily refers them to those great and benevolent principles of Nature by which the universe is regulated. But were there a constantly operating tendency to these calamitous occurrences; did we feel the earth beneath us tremulous, and giving ceaseless and certain tokens of the coming

[1] Dr. Rees's Cyclopædia, *in verb.* Population.

catastrophe of nature; were the hurricane heard mustering its devastating powers, and perpetually muttering around us; were the skies, "like brass," without a cloud to produce one genial drop to refresh the thirsty earth, and famine, consequently, visibly on the approach; I say, would such a state of things, as resulting from the constant laws of Nature, be "reconcileable with the attributes we assign to the Deity," or with any attributes which in these inventive days could be assigned to him, so as to represent him as any thing but the tormentor, rather than the kind benefactor, of his creatures? Life, in such a condition, would be like the unceasingly threatened and miserable existence of Damocles at the table of Dionysius, and the tyrant himself the worthy image of the deity of the anti-populationists.

(16) Nor is the portraiture of this boasted argument of the modern theory yet complete; forbidding as it is, it wants its most disgusting and characteristic feature,—its gross partiality. Let it be recollected, that, practically, its restraints and inflictions affect the poor only. To give, therefore, the foregoing illustrations, which are to pass for arguments, the slightest weight, it must be shewn that these catastrophes of Nature are not only constantly threatened and inflicted, but that they are laid upon the most suffering and defenceless part of mankind only. Do then these convulsions thus discriminate? Is wealth, like Æneas with his golden bough, safe amidst the surrounding horrors? Are the victims of poverty, like another Korah's company, those alone whom the earthquake would inhume? Do the tempest and the storm spare the lofty mansions, and sweep only the lowly cottage to destruction? Is the "pestilence

which walketh in darkness," or the "arrow that flieth by noon-day," a respecter of the persons of the great? If these strange and dreadful visitations must be appealed to in favour of the system in question, let its advocates at least learn from them the impartiality with which the chastisements of Nature are inflicted. Instead of thus acting, however, their remedial measures are all centered in interfering with the rights, virtues, and happiness of poverty. These wise and humane political anatomists would demonstrate on the inferior animals only.

(17) If, therefore, the principle of population, founded upon these checks, is true, and if they thus operate with cruelty, corruptness, and partiality, affecting principally, if not wholly, the poorer part of the human race, then let us resign at once, and for ever, our belief in that Being whose all-comprehending attribute has hitherto been deemed to be goodness. Let us no longer speak of that Providence, mysterious indeed in its operations, and often inscrutable; but which, in its final results, is effulgent in benevolence and mercy; beaming, upon all, the smile of the Eternal, and equally sharing amongst his common offspring the pleasures and the privileges of existence. The idea of an all-superintending Power thus tempering his various dispensations, and resolving the whole into ordinations of equal and unerring benevolence, was lovely and consoling, indeed; but, if the system in question is that of Nature, it is false. On the contrary, on this system nothing can then be less equal than the government of the Deity. The poor, whom the voice of reason, as well as of revelation, declares we shall always have with us, have no legal part in the distributions of his bounty; and it is calmly recom-

mended that they should be deserted. The most pitiable of human beings, who have hitherto been connected in a peculiar manner with GOD, and remain so united in every form of religion which prevails upon earth, are to be robbed of their just rights, insulted as having no business to live, and deprived of those common privileges which Nature awards to the humblest objects in existence. To them the innocent gratifications for which he that formed them adapted their being, are to be denied; an institution honourable in all other conditions, and peculiarly necessary to theirs, is interdicted to them, and, in innumerable cases, pronounced a crime; to which the severest consequences are awarded. If the religion they have been taught is true, the consequence of obeying this restraint will, in many instances, draw down upon them the present displeasure, and future vengeance of Heaven. Thus is it, that to rectify the different ratios, the poorer part of our fellow-beings must be injured, and the penalty awarded is such as will inflict misery in both worlds: by this reciprocal operation of political economy and religion, they are to be,

First starved in this, then damn'd in that to come.

(18) The effects which this system, when fully imbibed, must necessarily have upon the heart, need not be mentioned. "Assuredly the tendency of the "doctrine is to diminish our sympathy with the poor, "as a class, teaching us to consider them, in general, "as improvident intruders; and in the same propor-"tion, its tendency is to furnish an apology to the "selfish and the wealthy." That it must greatly weaken, if not finally overthrow our reliance on the Deity, and consequently our love and reverence for him, is abundantly plain; while its necessary conse-

quences must familiarise us with those offences, which the laws of GOD and man represent as ultimately fatal to the moral character and welfare of mankind.

(19) Nothing is there in the system more extraordinary than the attempt to ingraft it upon religion. Even the institutions of the Jews, which will be more fully adverted to in a succeeding part of this work, encouraged beyond those of any other nation, and in every possible way, the increase of the people; and these institutions Christianity not only spread through the civilized world, but added those precepts, whether of purity or benevolence, which so greatly contribute to the increase and happiness of human beings. Its mission, "peace and good will towards men," imperfectly as it has been obeyed, has yet, on the admission of its very enemies, effected much, very much, and especially in behalf of the humblest portion of the human race. Above all, it has greatly weakened, and promises finally to remove all those checks to population, on which so much has been already said; and as it has in great measure subdued these pests of mankind, I challenge their advocates to shew that it has substituted any other. All the moral and many of the natural evils of human life recede before its sacred influence, while the real and appointed check to population, Death, it forbids to be inflicted by the cruelty, or precipitated by the neglect of man, and not only mitigates and softens, but postpones the final blow to a later period of existence—a religion this, which not only multiplies mankind, but still more largely increases their happiness and prosperity. "Length of days is in her right hand, and in her left, "riches and honour. Her ways are ways of pleasant-

"ness, and all her paths are peace." Thus, as the numbers of mankind have augmented, their morals have improved, and their prosperity advanced with equal steps, and the future prospects of society glow with those still brighter hopes, equally predicted in the dreams of philosophy, and the prophecies of religion.

(20) Finally, had the theory of human superfecundity been founded upon truth, there might have been some necessity for these laboured and unsuccessful attempts to reconcile the principle and its consequences with the doctrines and duties enunciated by Christianity; but the utter fallacy of the proofs by which it is supposed to be demonstrated, a branch of the argument on which we are now about to enter, will shew that such attempts, by whomsoever made, as it respects that religion, have been worse than superfluous.

BOOK II.

OF THE THEORY OF HUMAN SUPERFECUNDITY: ITS PRINCIPLE AS FOUNDED UPON THE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND OF CHINA, STATED AND DISPROVED.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

(1) THE preceding book of this treatise has been devoted to the refutation of the first principles of the geometric theory of human increase, and to the detection of the fallacies in the proofs and illustrations derived principally from ancient history, on which it is founded. The present section will be exclusively appropriated to the consideration of the facts relating to two existing countries of the world, which, it is supposed, afford the demonstration of the same principle, and constitute far the most important part of the argument. Both these countries are immense in territorial extent, and sufficiently fortunate in their soil and climate. The one, however, is the newest considerable nation existing, the other, perhaps, the most ancient. In the former, the geometric ratio of increase is represented as in full operation[1], indeed, the very existence of the theory is professedly thence deduced[2]: in the latter, the ultimate effect of the principle is stated to have been produced; in a surcharge of inhabitants, excessive in reference to their means of subsistence, and restrained from further increase by that universal misery and that execrable vice, which are asserted to prevail throughout, and triumphantly appealed to in proof of what is called

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, pp. 4, 338, 339, &c.

[2] Malthus, Letter to Godwin, p. 122.

"the principle of population[1]." The countries in question are America and China, and thus is it that the system I am opposing, placing one foot on the old, and the other on the new world, lifts up its hateful front to Heaven, whose mercies it underrates, and whose laws it contemns, and tramples on the dearest feelings, and most valuable rights, of human beings, or rather upon those of the poor and the wretched: a system which, investing itself with pretended proofs and demonstrations, assumes the attitude and semblance of substantial truth, and delivers forth those pretended axioms which have been more injurious to the cause of humanity, than any ever propounded, whether in the heathen or Christian age of the world. Frightful, however, as it appears, we shall proceed to prove it but a phantom, and that its pretended foundations are rottenness and delusion.

(2) In the enunciation of any new theory, more especially such as wound the feelings, and contradict the settled opinions of mankind, great care ought undoubtedly to be taken, that the facts upon which they are founded should be fully known and authenticated, and fairly given to the public. Such, however, has not been the case respecting the present argument. Information regarding the early population of America, of an official nature, is in existence; and recent censuses of China have been several times taken and made known, utterly subversive of the pretended proofs of the principle of population; and yet not the slightest notice has been taken of documents of so authoritative and decisive a character; an omission, I fear, fatal to the pretensions of those, who, without the knowledge of such facts, or otherwise while suppressing them, have so confidently arraigned the laws

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, b. i., chap. xii., on China, passim.

of Nature, and built their pretended demonstrations upon the progress and condition of the population in these very countries. These omissions I shall proceed to supply, and shall accompany, in each case, the direct proofs which will thus be given of the entire fallacy of the system in question, with corresponding evidence to the same effect, drawn from more general sources of information.

(3) The necessity of examining this part of the subject at considerable length, and with the utmost attention, is manifest, from the importance attached to it by those who found upon it those conclusions which it is the purport of this work to overturn. Thus, regarding America, the principal advocate of the geometric theory asserts it to be "proved the moment American increase is related[1]," as he says the arithmetical one was as "soon as it was enunciated." Assertions like these, which, to use an expression of one of our poets, "throw conclusions at us in the lump," are, it is true, far more easily made than refuted, as it always takes ten times the pains to detect the most obvious fallacy as it does to declare it; nevertheless, in the cause of truth and humanity, I shall attempt to shew, and I hope, satisfactorily, that the stronghold of the system opposed, "is a refuge of lies."

(4) Regarding America, in the first place, let us attend to the facts which it will be requisite to advance and substantiate, before the geometric theory of human increase, which it is so confidently asserted that country exemplifies and proves, can be ascertained or contradicted. They are these: First, it will be necessary to obtain, at some early period of its history, the actual amount of the population. Second, it will

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population.

be equally essential to the calculations, to learn the nature and amount of the accessions to that population, which are known to have been, in this instance, great and unceasing. It will, then, be satisfactory to confirm the results thus obtained, and the effects deducible from them, by facts and observations generally recorded; and to shew them to be not only irreconcileable to what is called "the principle of population," but fully confirmatory of another and a better system. Previously, however, to entering upon these more important parts of the argument, I shall examine, somewhat particularly, the statement put forth by the anti-populationists, touching the progress of population in certain states of North America, on which the theory they advocate is solely founded.

CHAPTER II.

OF THE ERRONEOUSNESS OF THE SUPPOSED FACTS AND DEDUCTIONS RELATIVE TO PARTICULAR STATES OF AMERICA, ON WHICH THE GEOMETRIC THEORY IS FOUNDED.

(1) BEFORE I proceed to the consideration of more important parts of the present argument, I shall examine, as succinctly as possible, the particular proofs (and they are the only ones) of the geometric theory of human increase,—being those derived from the progress of population in particular States in North America. These, though often repeated during more than a generation past, and, hitherto, uncontradicted, are totally fallacious; and it is high time the public were disabused regarding them. The facts, however, which will be brought forward in some of the succeeding chapters, would have rendered the present more particular examination of these fallacies unnecessary; but their detection will not only demolish the erroneous theory of population; it will prepare the foundation for another and a better system.

(2) The pretended proofs are these, and, I repeat, they are the only ones I have ever yet seen advanced. "Throughout all the northern provinces" (of America) "the population was found to double itself in twenty-"five years. The original number of persons which "had settled in the four provinces of New England, in "1643, was 21,200. Afterwards, it was calculated "that more left them than went to them. In the year "1760, they were increased to half a million. They

" had, therefore, all along, doubled their number in " twenty-five years. In New Jersey, the period of " doubling appeared to be twenty-two years ; and, in " Rhode Island, still less. In the back settlements, " where the inhabitants applied themselves solely to " agriculture, and luxury was not known, they were " supposed to double their number in fifteen years. " Along the sea-coast, which was naturally the first " inhabited, the period of doubling was about thirty- " five years ; and, in some of the maritime towns, the " population was absolutely at a stand. From the late " census made in America, it appears, that, taking all " the States together, they have still continued to dou- " ble their numbers every twenty-five years. And as " the whole population is now so great, as not to be " materially affected by the emigrations from Europe, " and as it is known that, in some of the towns and " districts near the sea-coast, the progress of population " has been comparatively slow, it is evident, that in " the interior of the country, in general, the period of " doubling, from procreation only, must have been con- " siderably less than twenty-five years [1]." I will only add, that these statements were put forth many years ago, and are still repeated, and the ratio of increase contended for, it is now said, is " demonstrated " to be independent of foreign accessions.

(3) I shall first observe, on certain parts of this statement, that the assertions that the population of the maritime towns is at a stand, is incorrect, and that the inhabitants in the back settlements ever doubled themselves in fifteen years, is impossible ; as will be fully shewn in the first chapters of the next book of this treatise.

(4) First, as it respects New England generally:

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, pp. 338, 339.

this part of the United States, as forming the basis of American population, will be more particularly examined, in reference to this subject, in the ensuing chapter, in which it will be seen on how incorrect a basis the preceding calculation is founded; in the mean time, I will remark here, that had I wanted a disproof of the theory I am opposing, I could not have wished for one of a more decisive character than that afforded by this very province. Let us continue the proof by means of those facts which time has since afforded. Assuming the statement made above to be true, and that there were, in 1760, in those States, 500,000 inhabitants, there ought to be, at the end of other five years, from the present time (1830,) 4,000,000 people, that is, according to the geometric ratio; whereas, there were, in 1820, 1,424,090 only, and they were increasing after the rate of 13½ per cent. only decennially. Since the censuses have been accurately taken, the population of New England, including the States of Maine and Vermont, has augmented as follows[1]:—

1790	992,565
1800	1,214,286
1810	1,452,067
1820	1,638,435

Which numbers give an increase during the first decenniary of rather more than 22 per centum; in the second, of upwards of 19; while that of the third, was still further diminished to less than 12 per centum; disproving therefore, at once, any geometric ratio of increase whatsoever, and indicating a happier principle of population, which will be developed and proved hereafter. If the population in 1760 was 500,000, the increase between that period and 1790,

[1] National Calendars.

indicated a period of doubling of about 30 years; from 1790 to 1800, that term had enlarged to about 35 years; from 1800 to 1810, to 40 years; and the last, namely, from 1810 to 1820, it had still further lengthened, and had become 60 years.

(5) Should it be objected to this total disproof of the theory under examination, as founded upon the population of New England, that increasing misery has checked the natural progress of human increase in its States, the supposition would be negatived by another series of statistical facts, equally striking and conclusive. The increase of prosperity has not merely kept pace with, it has greatly exceeded that of the population, amongst whom we are assured the preventive check does not exist at all [1], and it may be added, that they are as little chargeable with that kind and degree of vice which could injure the procreative faculties, as, probably, any community upon earth [2].

(6) "In New Jersey the period of doubling appeared to be 22 years." This assertion is taken from Dr. Price, who states, that in 1738, the number of inhabitants there was taken by order of government, "and found to be 47,369. Seven years afterwards, "the number of inhabitants was again taken, and "found to be increased by procreation only, above "14,000" (or 61,403) [3]. This remark, "by procreation only," I deny, simply because it is impossible to be true, as I shall shew. Further observations are therefore, perhaps, unnecessary. I may, however, notice, that the population, other eighteen years afterward, namely, in 1763, was still only stated as being "more than sixty thousand [4]." What should have hindered

[1] Dr. Seybert, Statistical Annals, p. 52.

[2] See Dr. Dwight's character of the New Englanders—Travels *passim*.

[3] Dr. Price, Revers. Payments, vol. i., pp. 276, 277.

[4] Dr. Holmes, American Annals, vol. ii., p. 222.

procreation from being as productive in the latter term as in the former? But to calculate upon the whole population in 1745; this amounted to 56,797, which, doubled twice, would give 227,188: the white population of that State, in 1810, was found to be 226,868; having doubled nearly twice; therefore, in 65 years. In 1820, the white inhabitants of the same State were 257,409: the period of a single doubling is now, therefore, lengthened to above 56 years. Mr. Malthus calculates the progress of his ratios, three centuries forward[1]; in following whose example, we may soon see the immense disparity between his theory and facts. Did the population of New Jersey double every 22 years as asserted, then, commencing with the date Dr. Price first mentions, and carrying the computation forward to 2090, there ought, theoretically, to be three times as many inhabitants as there are, probably, individuals on the face of the earth[2]; whereas, according to the actual rate of increase, there would not exist as many on the same space as there are, at the present moment, in some of the provinces of the Netherlands[3]. This computation is made on the actual and present rate of increase, but that rate will diminish as the population advances, even without the intervention of the checks to population; as will be proved hereafter.

(7) Rhode Island is lastly particularised in the foregoing statement. It is said, that the period of doubling was still "less than in New Jersey," where it is represented to have been 22 years; if, therefore, we assume 20 years as what is meant, we shall take no unwarrantable liberties with the text. Respecting this State, a few preliminary observations are called for.

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 5.
[2] Namely, 2,843,313,936.
[3] Namely, 8,233,088 in 2100.

(8) Certainly, a more favourable district in which to exemplify, to its fullest possible extent, the effects of procreation only, in augmenting population, could hardly have been imagined. Rhode Island, it appears, is one of the most temperate and equable climates in the whole Union [1], to which the citizens from the south constantly resort for health [2]; endemical diseases are very rare [3], and epidemics, the yellow fever for instance, are unknown [4]. Volney observes, that were he to select the most favourable spot in America, as the place of his abode, his choice would fall there [5]; and Morse has denominated it, the Eden of America [6]. In this State, according to the last census, there were still only $48\frac{69}{100}$ individuals to a square mile [7]; consequently, there must be abundant scope for agricultural pursuits, to which, we are informed, the soil is highly favourable, especially the pasturage; advantages of which the inhabitants fully avail themselves, as the "large and wealthy farmers raise some of the finest neat cattle in New England;" are famous for their breed of horses, and export the other products of their pasturage, in large quantities, and of the finest quality [8]. Nor are there no other employments than agricultural; on the contrary, this State is the seat of the most flourishing manufactures in the Union [9], having, for instance, more than 100 cotton-mills already established [10]. Its fisheries might be rendered highly productive; indeed, its capital is now said to be "the best fish market in the world [11]." Its position is

[1] Warden, Statistical Acct. of the United States, vol. i., p. 457.
[2] Ibid., p. 459.
[3] Ibid., p. 459. Morse, Parish Hist. N. England.
[4] Warden, Statistical Account, &c., vol. i., p. 459.
[5] Volney, View of the Climate and Soil of the United States.
[6] Morse, Geog., p. 340.
[7] American Census, 1820.
[8] Morse, American Geog., p. 343.
[9] Ibid., p. 344. Carey and Lea, Geog., &c., p. 117.
[10] Malte-Brun, Geog., b. lxxix., p. 176.
[11] Morse, Geog., p. 340.

peculiarly favourable for the shipping trade, in all its branches; and, as a celebrated writer observes, by its excellent harbours, and easy access to the ocean, it is admirably fitted for foreign commerce, in which it is actively engaged[1]. As to the inhabitants, the American writers inform us, that they exhibit a marked superiority. "Their general appearance," says Warden, "indicates health and strength, and bears "evidence of the salubrity in the climate. The wo- "men, especially," he adds, "have long been cele- "brated as among the finest in the United States[2]." Not supposing that the people of Rhode Island are free from all those troubles and miseries which "flesh is heir to," I must contend, nevertheless, that in possession of all these great advantages, few parts of the earth could have been better chosen than this State, wherein to exhibit the proof of the geometric theory of human increase, had any such principle been in existence; and it has been so chosen, and it is consequently given, as the climax of the proofs of American prolificness.

(9) Let us now examine how this State justifies the appeal made to it in favour of the geometric theory. In the last cited instance, that of New Jersey, the absurdity of that theory was exposed by a prospective view of its effect, compared with that which must result from a continuance of the existing rate of increase there; as it respects Rhode Island, the same argument will be presented, but in a less debatable form, namely, retrospectively. The progress of population has been more frequently and exactly enumerated in this, than in any other of the States; a circumstance which will enable us to exhibit the dif-

[1] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. i., p. 476.

[2] Ibid., vol. i., p. 476.

ference between the theory of population, even in the very province chosen for its demonstration, and matter of fact.

TABLE I.

SHEWING THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE GEOMETRIC AND THE ACTUAL RATIO OF INCREASE IN RHODE ISLAND, UNITED STATES.

Years of Doubling.	Geometric Theory.	Years of Censuses.	Actual Fact.
1730	17.935	1730	17.935
		1748	32.773
1750	35.870		
		1761	40.636
1770	71.740		
		1774	59.678
1790	143.480	1790	68.825
		1800	69.122
1810	286.960	1810	76.931
		1820	83.038
1830	573.920		

This table requires no comment. It merely exhibits the theory and the truth in close contact. In the space of 90 years only the former has outrun the latter about five-fold; or, excluding the coloured population altogether, as not worthy to exemplify the principle of human increase, far above four times over.

(10) Were I to go back to the state of the colony in 1680, I could easily shew from the answers of Governor Peleg Sandford to the Committee of Plantations at home, cautious as they are, that it never had increased in the ratio attributed to it, even including

all its foreign accessions[1]. To this point, however, I shall not at present advert; especially, as it appears quite clear, that it is upon the increase between the first and second periods, particularized in the above table, that the assertion, that Rhode Island doubled in less than 22 years, is founded. Immaterial as it is to attend to this circumstance, as far as my argument, already so abundantly triumphant, regarding this colony, is concerned; still, I will seize the occasion (though many others will be afforded) of shewing the nature of the demonstrations of those anti-populationists who have, either ignorantly or deceptiously, presented this and similar proofs of the truth of their theory. There had been, in the interim, a large accession of territory and of inhabitants, ceded from the State of Massachusetts to that of Rhode Island. But to give the facts in the words of Dr. Douglas,—"The "valuation or census, anno 1730, was, whites 15,302, "blacks 1684, Indians 985; in all, 17,935. The va- "luation, anno 1748, was, whites 28,439, blacks 3,077, "Indians 1257; in all, 32,773. From these deduct "Bristol, Tiverton, Little Compton, Warren, and "Cumberland, a late addition taken from the jurisdic- "tion of Massachusett's Bay, and added to Rhode "Island colony, of 4196 whites, 343 blacks, and 228 "Indians, remain 24,243 whites, which is an increase "of near 9000 whites upon 15,500, in 18 years; "that is more than one-third increased in the space "of 18 years[2]." So far Douglas, who, moreover, only records facts of universal notoriety[3]. Our theorists, however, have made it out to their satisfaction, that the population of Rhode Island actually doubled

[1] Chalmers, Polit. Annals, pp. 283 and 284.—"As for horse, we have but few, "but the chief of our militia consists of "ten companies of foot," &c. &c.

[2] Douglas, Summary, vol. ii., pp. 89, 90.

[3] Holmes, Amer. Ann., vol. ii., p. 156. Adams' Letters, xvii. Brit. Emp. in N. America, vol. ii., p. 145.

in less than 22 years, by procreation only. So much for either the intelligence or the candour of their demonstrations. Just upon this principle do they proceed in calculating the natural increase of the whole American and Russian population. Accessions of territory and inhabitants are totally overlooked. Quite as convincing a method of demonstrating the "power of population" is it, as though, in estimating English increase by procreation only, I were at once to take the population of British Hindostan into the account.

(11) It may seem superfluous to pursue the subject; but in dealing with an argument which is perpetually appealing to futurity, it is perhaps necessary to do so. Calculating, then, the increase by the ratio that has prevailed during the last thirty years, a hundred years hence, there would be, in Rhode Island, somewhat above 300,000 inhabitants, or about half the number on the square mile that there is now in England: whereas, reckoning from the date with which the theorists commence, their ratio threatens them with a population of more than six hundred millions at that, comparatively speaking, early period.

(12) I had constructed a table, in which was collected all the information accessible to me, shewing that, with respect to this State, the ratios so much referred to ought to be reversed; inasmuch as, during the period in question, the population had increased only arithmetically, while the elements, or at least the indications, of plenty and prosperity had actually multiplied geometrically. The results were curious enough; they are, however, omitted, as superfluous to the general argument.

(13) As to the assertion, that the period of duplication in the back settlements, from procreation only,

was only fifteen years, that will be dealt with in the first chapter in the ensuing Book, in which the possibility of that, and far more extended terms, will be distinctly disproved.

(14) Thus, then, is it, that these particular States prove, by the force of incontrovertible facts, directly the contrary to that for which they are appealed to. No error was ever more great or palpable, though, it is true, none was ever more tenaciously maintained, or more frequently asserted, than that any of them have ever continued to double their numbers by procreation only, or indeed by any other means, in the slowest rate mentioned, or indeed in any geometrical ratio whatsoever. I am well aware of the way in which the force of the, otherwise inevitable, conclusion is evaded: though, in a system which maintains that emigration has little or no effect, either in ultimately lessening the community it leaves, or in increasing that to which it proceeds, it must be rather tacitly relied on, than ostensibly put forth. Nearly a hundred years ago, it will be hereafter seen, another reason, for the comparatively slow rate of increase then visible, was put forth. Now, when explained at all, it is exclusively attributed to emigration to the newer States. That this may have had some influence, I will not dispute; but that it has occasioned an effect to cease which never existed, may be confidently denied. It is rather amusing to see to what shifts some of the American assertors of the natural increase of the population of their respective States are put, when accounting for the facts to which I have been adverting. For instance, Mr. Warden, speaking of Connecticut, explains the circumstance in reference to that province, by stating, that at least from 12,000 to 15,000 persons emigrate

annually thence to the other territories of the Union[1]. In other words, admitting the correctness of another statement of his, that in that prolific region there is annually one birth to every twenty inhabitants[2], he informs us that, annually, many thousand more individuals emigrate from that State, than arrive at the age of discretion, nay, than are even born in it! An opinion, nevertheless, more reasonable than others of his, upon the same subject, that will be hereafter noticed. On similar absurdities are the whole of these pretended demonstrations founded.

(15) But supposing, for a moment, that, in one and the same country, emigration shall have no perceptible effect on the population, and yet migration a most powerful one, and allowing the argument to be transferred from the States selected as its proofs, but in which it has totally failed, to all the original States of the Union, even then the geometric ratio of increase cannot be substantiated. The population in these old States (including Vermont and Maine) was, in 1790, 3,070,102; in 1800, 3,975,667; in 1810, 4,962,461; and in 1820, 6,010,466[3]: giving, therefore, an increase, in the first period, of 29 per centum; in the second, of 25; and in the last, of 21 per centum; or multiplying in the first at a rate which would double the numbers in 27 years, in the second in 31 years, and in the third in 36 years.

(16) Nay, if we give the argument such a latitude as to render it ridiculous, transferring the computation to the utmost extent of the Union, include in it all the late cessions, both of territory and inhabitants from whatever country, and drop, in its progress, all

[1] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. ii., p. 10.

[2] Mr. Warden makes the population in Connecticut, when he wrote, to be 255,179. Vol. ii., p. 10.

[3] National Calendars.

recollection of the emigrations whence the newer provinces have almost exclusively sprung, still the theory fails. There were, of white inhabitants, in the whole of the United States in 1790, 3,093,111; in 1800, 4,309,656; in 1810, 5,862,093; and in 1820, 7,861,710[1]. The increase, in the first term, being 39 per cent.; that in the second, 36 per cent.; and that in the third and last, 33 per cent. It is superfluous to say, that it is utterly impossible to deduce the geometric theory of human increase, whatever be the period of duplication, from such terms as these.

(17) Hitherto, however, the argument has been pursued in reference to those proofs only, which the advocates of that theory have chosen to select, to the rejection of others of a far more authentic and important character; and still these deductions have been fully disproved. But this mode will be pursued no longer. The facts which have been either suppressed or contradicted, will be brought forward and substantiated; and those which have been misrepresented will be rectified. The early population of New England, which has been so grossly underrated, and that of the colonies generally, which has been carefully overlooked, will be ascertained; and also the existence and extent of emigration to both, which has been denied at one period, and only acknowledged at another—when it was supposed it could be pronounced immaterial—will be enquired into somewhat at large, as most essential to the determination of the entire question. It will then be seen, that the theory of human superfecundity, as founded on the history and progress of American population, is one of the most palpable sophisms that ever imposed upon the understanding, or deadened the feelings of mankind.

[1] National Calendars.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE ERRONEOUS STATEMENTS RELATIVE TO THE AMOUNT OF THE EARLY POPULATION OF AMERICA. THAT OF THE NEW ENGLAND STATES ASCERTAINED.

(1) Mr. Townsend and Mr. Malthus, copying from Dr. Price, and the latter from Dr. Styles and Dr. Franklin, have asserted that the period of doubling, from natural causes only, is, and has been, in the New England States of North America, twenty-five years only. With the latter writers this opinion was a pardonable, if not a praiseworthy, error; inasmuch as it was adopted to favour their views regarding the multiplication of human beings, which they identified with the increase of universal happiness: as it regards the former, they seized upon the same supposition for a diametrically opposite purpose, to prove that inevitable evils result from the principle of population, and the consequent necessity of checking its progress; views which have not infested the philosophy of the country merely, but its policy and humanity. Hence the necessity of refuting notions which might otherwise have been suffered to remain unquestioned amongst innumerable other visionary speculations, which, while evincing, perhaps, the weakness, have still more exalted the moral excellence, of the human mind, by displaying its enthusiastic and restless benevolence. The fundamental principles of policy and religion are, however, changed, and human

beings are now called upon to prove, by calculation, that they are not nuisances to each other and to their country.

(2) These are the terms in which the first cited author has summed up the argument, or rather the assertion, on which his system is founded, at least as it respects the New England States. "The original "number of persons which had settled in the four "provinces of New England, in 1643, was 21,200. "Afterwards, it was calculated, that more left them "than went to them. In the year 1760, they were "increased to half a million. They had, therefore, "all along, doubled their number in twenty-five "years[1]." Other States are instanced as proving a still more rapid duplication. From a review of the whole, it is concluded that "the period of doubling "from procreation only" (throughout the United States) "must have been considerably less than "twenty-five years[2]."

(3) Before I proceed to the more particular consideration of the subject, I must notice, in the outset, an error which, from what cause soever introduced, is fatal to the entire argument, and consequently to the system founded upon it. Supposing that the sum total of the emigrants to these States, from their first settlement, had amounted to 21,200 only, a fact which I neither admit nor believe, still that number is evidently exclusive of their increase up to the date specified, though the colonies had then been settled upwards of twenty-three years, and principally, we may be assured, by individuals in the prime of life, whose rapid additions to the increase of any community need hardly be proved. Still, from the birth of Peregrine

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 338.

[2] Ibid., p. 339.

White, in 1620, the first "native-born American[1]" of the colony, to the year 1643, not a single individual is added to the original number of emigrants as resulting from internal procreation; though from that precise date, and thenceforward, the entire increase is to be made up from that source only. Now, I maintain, and shall hereafter show more particularly, that a body of individuals, such as emigrants almost exclusively consist of, will of necessity add to their numbers, with far greater rapidity than an equal number born in and taken promiscuously from an entire community; for example, very many of these 21,200 would doubtless duplicate themselves as rapidly as did the father of Peregrine White, though it will be probably allowed that the latter must have waited till nearly the year last named before he did the same. But nothing can be more whimsical than the assumption that these original settlers should remain sterile down to the year 1643, and then have the date of their natural prolificness elongated five-and-twenty years, in which to duplicate their numbers. And yet it is on this very supposition that the pretended demonstration regarding human increase is built.

(4) The medium through which most of the circumstances quoted in the above statement were probably obtained, fell, however, into no such absurdity. Governor Hutchinson, in the preface to his History of Massachusetts Bay, says, "in the first ten years about "20,000 souls had arrived in the Massachusetts, since "then more have gone from thence than have come "hither[2];" a statement which he repeats, with still further particulars, in a subsequent part of his work[3], in which he gives the number of settlers as amounting to

[1] This expression, and "native son of America," are common in American writers, especially of an early date.

[2] Hutchinson, Hist. of Massachusetts Bay, vol. i., pref. p. iii.

[3] Ibid., vol. i., p. 93.

21,200, and says that the importation had ceased in 1640[1]. The whole account, however, was, as Dr. Holmes (one of the most accurate and industrious of all the American compilers) notices, derived from Josselyn[2]; and he adds, that though it has been quoted by respectable authority, it is neither stated with precision nor with confidence. The language of Josselyn is, "in the ten first years *chiefly*," and (in reference to the number of emigrants) "as near as can be *guessed*[3]." It may, too, have referred to Massachusetts only; at all events, it is given under the date of 1637. Mr. Malthus, however, brings the time down to 1643, equally rejecting, as we have seen, all internal increase whatsoever down to that date, and thenceforward all from any other source. No demonstration, especially one which is held to be "proved the moment it is related," was probably ever before formed of such a mixture of palpable errors and doubtful guesses.

(5) The very basis of the geometric theory thus proved to be incorrect, let us now proceed to show the extent of the error. Taking the pretended facts, as before stated, and calculating the progress of population from them, as we have been instructed to do, if there were 21,200 inhabitants in the New England States in 1643, that number would have increased in 1668 to 42,400. We have no occasion, at present, to extend the calculation any further.

(6) At the former of these periods, the domestic troubles of England engaged the public mind too much to enable us to gather any definite information regarding the state of the settlement: not so, however, at the latter one; it was a subject that already began to excite deep and universal attention. Were,

[1] Hutchinson, Hist. of Massachusetts Bay, vol. i., p. 93.

[2] Holmes, American Annals, vol. i., p. 246. A.D. 1637.

[3] Josselyn, Voy., p. 258.

then, the colonies regarded in such a light as to warrant the idea that they were inhabited at most by about twenty thousand adults, and, perhaps, by not more than half that number of men? To believe any such thing would imply a thorough ignorance of the affairs of even the Mother Country at that period. Their high importance, in a commercial point of view, appears from almost all the writers on such subjects at that period; and they were numerous and respectable, such, for instance, as Sir Joshua Child, Dr. Davenant, and Sir William Petty. The latter observes that these plantations employed, in his time, 400 sail of ships[1]. The former, who wrote, as he informs us himself, "long before 1669[2]," positively asserts that they employed, even then, "near two-thirds of all our English shipping[3]." Nay, they were considered as greatly interfering with the trade of the Mother Country, even in Europe[4].

(7) The importance of these colonies, politically considered, was, at this period, equally apparent. We have decisive evidence of the light in which they were regarded by the government of the country, in the Diary of the celebrated Evelyn, who was, about this time, appointed one of the "Council of Plantations," where he thus speaks on entering upon the duties of his office, and assisting in its deliberations. "But what we most insisted upon was, to know the "condition of New England, which, appearing to be "very independent as to their regard to Old England, "or his Majesty, rich and strong as they now were, "occasioned great debates, &c.[5]" Difficult and delicate, indeed, must have been the deliberation of these

[1] Petty, Pref. to Polit. Arithmetic, Tracts, p. 205.
[2] Child, Discourses on Trade, &c., Pref., p. i.
[3] Ibid., p. 203.
[4] Chalmers, Political Annals, p. 317.
[5] Evelyn, Memoirs, vol. i., p. 415.

gentlemen of the Council, had the data on which the geometric theory is founded been true; the management of such a body must have involved fearful responsibility! But, seriously, the counsellor did not over-rate the difficulties of his situation, the colonists were not very docile in disposition, nor yet very despicable in strength; on the contrary, they knew that they could, as Sir Thomas Browne informs us, respecting them at that period, raise, upon an emergency, a force of "between twenty and thirty thousand men[1]."

(8) If we turn to the internal affairs of these colonies, we meet with equal proofs of the fallacy of the supposition I am combating. We are informed by Roberts, in his "Mappe of Commerce," who published his book in the year 1638, that New England was already "full of good townes and forts[2]." Even thus early, the establishments of the colonists, whether civil, military, or ecclesiastical, were as efficiently organized as they are at this moment. The executive, representative, and judicial system was in complete operation[3]. There was even a college already established[4]; some proof, certainly, that the settlers were prolific. But this state of things could not have existed in a society consisting of a mere handful of men, scattered over so immense a tract as New England, unless each, in the theatrical phrase, had been "an actor of all work," or except they could have done, as well as the creative genius of Shakspeare did,

> Into a thousand parts divide one man,
> And make imaginary puissance.

[1] Sir Thomas Browne, Tracts, xii., p. 64.
[2] Lewis Roberts, Merchants' Mappe of Commerce, p. 57.
[3] Dr. Holmes, American Annal., A.D. 1635—1640.
[4] Mather, Magn. Christ. Americ., Book iv., p. 126. Winthrop, Journal, p. 155.

Such conduct, however, was not consistent with their habits, which were sober in the extreme; and, above all, averse, by both principle and policy, to unnecessary display.

(9) But we are not left to mere incidental notices respecting the colonies, from which to draw our conclusions regarding their early population. Nor yet need we trust to mere unauthorized suppositions in reference to it, otherwise there lies before me a statement made by the Reverend Samuel Clarke, one of their ministers, published in 1670, which makes the number many times as great as that which will be adopted[1]. There exists in the archives of the country authentic information on this very point. The importance which these colonies had soon attained, dictated to the Government at home (as we have seen) the necessity of sending out to the governors a set of queries, one of which related especially to the subject of population. These functionaries were, in the New England states, chosen by the free men, with whom they were identified in feelings, interests, and origin. They, as well as all in subordinate offices, were upon their guard respecting these interrogatories, which they answered vaguely and reluctantly; as we are assured they deemed it "a principle of patriotism," it was certainly one of policy, "to represent the low condition of their country[2]." Hence, many of the questions were evaded, rather than fully answered, particularly those respecting Rhode Island[3], New Hampshire[4], Maine[5], and Connecticut[6], and whether the results were given in the accounts of New England generally,

[1] Clarke, Rev. Samuel, "True Account of the Four Chiefest Plantations of the English in America," fol., 1670, p. 55.

[2] Chalmers, Political Annals, preface.

[3] Ibid., p. 283.

[4] Ibid., p. 511.

[5] Ibid., p. 507.

[6] Ibid., p. 309.

which was frequently identified with the state of Massachusetts, seems rather doubtful. Be that as it may, it is clear that the facts regarding the colonies thus given would not be exaggerated; on the other hand, it is certain they would err greatly in deficiency.

(10) The official information thus obtained was brought to light many years ago by Dr. Chalmers, who was aided in his researches by the then government, which gave him full access to the original documents. The authenticity of his statements have never yet been disputed on this side of the water, and they have been constantly adopted on the other, especially by one of the ablest historians America has yet produced, in his life of the great Washington[1]. On the authority of these official reports, then, Dr. Chalmers gives the population of New England, (whether referring to Massachusetts Bay, or to the whole of the provinces, I will not determine,) as amounting, in 1673, to one hundred and twenty thousand souls[2]. We have already noticed the just suspicion he entertained regarding the disposition of the governors to underrate, in all respects, the condition of their people, and more particularly, of course, as to their numbers; a fact which fully justifies the conclusion of one of the most exact statistical writers of that age, Sir William Petty, who wrote his Political Arithmetic in 1676[3]; and, consequently, his information could hardly have been more recent than that which Chalmers refers to. He states that the population of New England amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand persons, and he gives the facts upon which he founded his computation[4].

[1] Marshall, Life of Washington, vol. i., p. 178.
[2] Chalmers, Political Annals, p. 434.
[3] Macpherson, History of Commerce, &c., vol. ii., p. 579.
[4] Petty, Polit. Arithmetic, p. 257.

(11) I shall not stay to inquire what could have been the inducement with our anti-populationists, to overlook facts of this character, and supply their place with the speculations (for such they are) contained in a marginal note of an anniversary sermon[1], but proceed to apply the geometric system to the facts developed. One hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants existing in 1673, doubling themselves not once every twelve years[2], or fifteen years[3], or twenty years[4], or twenty-two years[5], which we are informed was the case in some of the back settlements, (and all new colonies are originally in the very condition of back settlements,) but, according to what we are assured, falls short of the slowest rate of increase altogether; once every twenty-five years would, seven years ago, have swelled the population to nearly ten millions. Or if we take the lowest of the preceding computations, one hundred and twenty thousand would have become by this "slowest rate of increase," nearly eight millions.

(12) Nay, supposing that, deaf to both history and common sense, we consented to believe that the 21,200 first mentioned, were the whole amount of men, women and children, in New England at the period referred to, even these, doubled according to the geometric ratio, would, in 1837, or 1840, or 1843, (whatever period as to starting two centuries before the reader may judge has the most evidence in its favour,) amount to 5,427,200; whereas the entire population of these States was, in 1820, only 1,424,090; and increasing little more than one per cent. annually, or, to speak with more precision, thirteen and a half

[1] Dr. Ezra Styles, Sermon before the Clergy at Bristol, Rhode Island, 23 April, 1760. In enunciating what he calls "patrial maturity," he appeals for his facts partly to Dr. Franklin, of whose "reckonings" more hereafter.

[2] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 5.

[3] Ibid., p. 338.

[4] Dr. Franklin.

[5] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 338.

per cent. decennially, which would bring up the numbers to the former sum, when somewhat less than a third part of the twentieth century shall have elapsed.

(13) The confident prognostications respecting the regular doubling of human beings have been so often put forth, and so constantly falsified by facts, that it is truly astonishing how any such notion should have continued to be entertained, much less have been elevated at length to the rank of a general principle of Nature. Thus, "a Gentleman of the Province" of Connecticut, one of the States in question, contemplating the future progress of population in his native country, says, "the people of Connecticut did, "in ninety years, double their number ten times "over[1]," and adds, "I see no reason in Nature why "they should not again double ten times in the en-"suing ninety years[2]," or, in other words, calculating from the period with which he commences, multiply into twice as many inhabitants as exist upon the face of the earth. This speculator upon the laws of Nature wrote in the year 1781, the year afterwards the population of Connecticut was 208,870[3]: it amounted in 1820 to 275,248; a rate of increase which would not double the numbers once, instead of ten times over, in the ninety years he mentions, more than half of which has now elapsed. Dr. Styles, agreeably to his theory, which, however, is far different to the geometrical one, says, that the population of the New England States would amount, in the year 1835, to 4,000,000. I need not say how much his computation, far the most moderate I have seen, has, in a single age, outrun the truth. Mr. Warden's is the last calculation I have noticed; he prognosticates that the inhabitants

[1] Hist. of Connecticut, by a Gentleman of the Province, p. 263.
[2] Ibid., p. 264.
[3] Dr. Holmes, American Annals, A.D. 1782, vol. ii., p. 380.

of the United States will amount to 224,000,000 within a century[1], and consequently govern the ocean, as he somewhere promises they shall. His prophecy is quite as certain, and, at the present, as safe from detection, as were any of the foregoing ones at the periods in which they were uttered.

(14) But to return. It would have been well if our theorists, before pronouncing upon a point so deeply affecting the destiny of human beings, had put themselves to the school of experience. I will supply one of its lessons, and it is the more interesting because it relates to the very country and province under consideration. It is delivered, moreover, by an authority in all respects better qualified to decide the matter at issue than any who have hitherto discussed it, inasmuch as he was many years one of the resident governors of the principal State referred to, and had, consequently, the most ample means of possessing himself of the necessary information: he lived, too, at a very favourable time for enabling him so to do, almost equidistant from the commencing and the present period; he was, moreover, the historian of this his native province, and, consequently, little disposed to underrate its existing condition, or its future prospects: I mean Mr. Hutchinson, Lieutenant-Governor of Massachusetts Bay, which, as before observed, was often exclusively denominated New England, and which, certainly, at that period, comprehended a great portion of the wealth and population of the States, properly so called. Speaking on the very subject under consideration, he thus expresses himself: "In the year 1713, there was not double "the number of inhabitants in the Massachusetts

[1] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. iii. p. 236. Introd. p. xxxv.

"province, which the several colonies of which it is "formed, contained fifty years before. During the "period there was no remarkable emigration to other "colonies. There was vacant land sufficient to ex-"tend settlements upon," (there is abundance still,) "and as easy to be procured as anywhere else. The "same observation," he says, "may be made from "1722 to 1762. The inhabitants have not doubled "their number[1]."

(15) It is to the facts regarding the actual increase in the population of New England, to which the theorists have professed to appeal. They have now been detailed. As to any reasons why the augmentation should not have been greater, that is palpably wide of their argument: into such, however, I am not unwilling to enter; these certainly are not resolvable into any of the restraints to population, enumerated by the anti-populationists, respecting our own country. The principal one assigned by Governor Hutchinson, (for he was among those who had been instructed respecting the geometric theory of duplication,) was the annual average loss of 88 young men by war; an explanation which I hardly think will be urged by those who argue that a yearly accession of ten thousand such, by emigration, is "immaterial" to the increase of American population. I am aware of another cause, which Mr. Warden assigns for this defalcation in the American ratio of increase, regarding another of the States of New England, and which, as too amusing to be passed over unnoticed, will be attended to hereafter. In the mean time, I shall conclude these remarks by observing, that notwithstanding that part of the world

[1] Hutchinson, Hist. of Massachusetts Bay, vol. i., pp. 202, 203.

has been selected as affording a full proof of the geometric theory of population, it is a notorious fact, open to casual and general observation, that "in most "of the New England States, the increase is extremely "small[1]."

[1] Hall, Travels in America, p. 464.

CHAPTER III.

OF THE AMOUNT OF THE EARLY POPULATION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN COLONIES, NOW THE UNITED STATES, GENERALLY.

(1) THE proof of the geometric ratio of human increase having entirely failed, even in the provinces from whence it was professedly deduced, that failure is now attempted to be accounted for, so as still to preserve the theory. It is attributed to emigrations from the States in question, to other parts of the Union. The same theory, however, demands that the effect of emigration in materially increasing population, should be peremptorily denied. In the very same argument, therefore, the most palpable contradiction has to be maintained; namely, that emigration greatly diminishes the increase of the inhabitants from whom it proceeds, without equally augmenting those to whom it is added. It might be very properly objected, that such a mode of reasoning negatives itself. This, however, will not be persisted in. The argument shall be willingly transferred from the very ground the advocates of superfecundity have chosen, to a wider field, that of the whole of the United States. Error may a while escape detection, from a dexterous change of its position; but truth, however baffled and resisted, must be finally triumphant.

(2) To pursue the inquiry, therefore, regarding the original population of North America. After New England, the State of Virginia, prior, indeed, to

the former in its date, demands the first attention. This colony, on the authority of its governor, Sir William Berkley, contained in 1671, "above 40,000 "persons, men, women, and children, of which there "were 2000 blacks[1]." He adds, that 1500 servants came in annually, nor are we to suppose, that other accessions from the mother country had yet ceased; these, therefore, added to the former number, justify the account dated four years afterwards, which makes the inhabitants amount to 50,000[2]. From a despatch of a subsequent governor, Lord Culpepper, in 1681, we learn the vast increase which was going forward. He makes the fighting men to have been augmented, in ten years, from about 8,000 to 15,000 men[3].

(3) Maryland, Ogilvy says, had been so effectually supplied with people and necessaries, by Lord Baltimore, that in the year 1671, there were then from 15,000 to 20,000 souls in it[4]: certainly no exaggeration, as in the year 1665, several accounts concur in stating the English inhabitants as then amounting to 16,000[5]. In 1676, the Rev. John Yeo, in an official letter addressed, in behalf of the colony, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, stated the inhabitants to be "20,000 at least[6]."

(4) The inhabitants of the province of New York were about this time at least 15,000. In 1678, the governor, Sir Edward Andros, says, "We have about "twenty-four towns, villages, or parishes, in six rid-"ings or courts of session[7];" the militia he states at about 2000, of which 140 were horse[8]. These facts were probably understated, as eight years afterwards,

[1] Chalmers, Polit. Annal., p. 601.
[2] Ibid., vol. i., p. 336.
[3] Ibid., pp. 326, 356.
[4] Ibid., p. 375.
[5] Universal Hist., Mod. Pt., vol. xl., p. 469. British Empire in N. America, vol. iii., p. 4. Dr. Holmes, American Annals, vol. i., p. 331.
[6] Chalmers, Polit. Annals, p. 375.
[7] Ibid., p. 602.
[8] Ibid., p. 601.

Dongan reported to the British government that the militia were 4000 foot and 300 horse, and one company of dragoons, and added, "I wish for more fortifi-" cations, as the people grow every day more nume-" rous, and are of a turbulent disposition[1]."

(5) In Carolina, the titheables, as they were termed, amounted at about the same period to 1400 only; perhaps, therefore, the population did not much exceed 5000. A remark, indeed, in the History of Carolina would warrant me in stating it as much higher, which, however, I shall decline doing[2].

(6) The Jerseys[3], and the tract afterwards called Pennsylvania, we may safely assume were inhabited at this period by at least 10,000 or 12,000 people. Both these regions had been settled early in that century. In the latter, particularly, Penn found on his arrival several thousand colonists[4]; and in the former, the population in which was then said to increase very slowly, owing to various causes, there were early in the ensuing century 16,000 inhabitants[5].

(7) Other territories, of which the United States are now in possession, were not without white inhabitants at the period in question. It may also be assumed that some of the preceding estimates are much understated, as will always be the case where censuses are founded upon fiscal data. Making, however, no addition to the total amount on either ground, and to keep far within the bounds of certainty, we may safely conclude, that the British colonies of North America, including the New England States, amounted, in the year 1676, to two hundred and fifty thousand

[1] Chalmers, Polit. Annals, p. 601.
[2] Hist. of Carolina, p. 308.
[3] "The towns in East Jersey alone "were supposed, in 1682, to be settled by "seven hundred families, exclusive of "the out-plantations, which were esti-"mated at half as many as the towns." (Six thousand persons?)—Smith, New Jersey, p. 164.
[4] Chalmers, Polit. Annals, p. 643.
[5] Proud, Hist. Pennsylv., vol. i., p. 204—206.

souls. This estimate is considerably under that of many of the writers of those times, and particularly that of Sir William Petty[1].

(8) Now, supposing that there had not proceeded to the shores of North America, from that period to the present hour, one single emigrant, (an assumption not more false or extravagant than, as it will be seen, are many of those upon which the geometric theory professes to be built,) there ought, according to the "very slowest rate of increase" it admits, and which its advocates are so "perfectly sure is far within the truth[2]," to have been in 1826 sixteen millions of Anglo-Americans in the United States, whereas there were, in 1820, far less than half that number, namely, 7,861,710 whites, including people and their descendants of every kindred, nation, and tongue, of the civilized world.

(9) But during this whole period, a tide of emigration has set in from the Old World to the New, and which for several generations past has not been poured from the mother country only, but has been swelled by the contributions of every nation in Europe. In behalf of the system I am controverting, the effect of this emigration on the increase of the population has been attempted to be disputed in every possible way; by totally denying its existence, as in the case of the New England States[3]; by underrating its amount when it is adverted to[4]; and, finally, and more particularly, by concluding that it is immaterial, in its consequences[5], as to the question at issue. Assertions like these, dictated by the false philosophy I am opposing, have been too congenial to the feelings of the country concerning which they have been put

[1] Petty, Polit. Arithmetic, p. 257.
[2] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 5.
[3] Ibid., p. 338.
[4] Ibid., p. 339, note.
[5] Ibid., p. 339.

forth, not to be eagerly adopted and reiterated from thence; till the theory of American increase, independently of emigration, is now held to be an incontrovertible fact, and demonstrative of the principle of population as soon as it is stated. It is one, however, which we proceed to prove is founded on statements and suppositions utterly erroneous in every possible point of view.

CHAPTER V.

OF EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA. ITS HISTORICAL PROOFS.

(1) THE mere enunciation of the early population of the British Colonies having totally destroyed the sole proof of the geometric theory, and shewn that the population of America has not doubled, as asserted, every five-and-twenty years, by all the means that have contributed to its increase, much less by procreation only, it may, perhaps, seem unnecessary to pursue the argument, at least as it regards that part of the world, any further. But, as the theory in question is fraught with a variety of explanations, and is described in its effects as subject to the influences of "tendencies and oscillations," which might easily adjust it to another, and a somewhat lengthened term of duplication, founding thereon a fresh series of "demonstrations," as they are called, in its favour; it appears necessary to take a more precise and particular view of the subject, in order to satisfy ourselves whether any, and how great a part, of the increase which has actually taken place, has been attributable to a cause, the material effect of which its advocates necessarily and strenuously deny; I mean, continued emigration. A brief examination of this subject will give us a more clear and comprehensive view of the nature of American population, and of its progress, and will also prepare the way for other inquiries, closely connected with the general argument.

(2) It is somewhat singular, that nearly all the American writers, few of whom could reckon two pure American descents, almost unanimously pronounce the increase of their population to be wholly independent of emigration, and, therefore, can reckon with great precision when they shall attain to the sovereignty of the ocean, and the consequent command of the world. Thus, Mr. Jefferson informs us, in his Notes on Virginia, that all their importations had ceased in his State in 1654[1]. The historian of Vermont seems never to have acknowledged any whatever[2]. That of Connecticut is very jealous, even about the original peopling of that colony; denying that it was founded from Massachusetts; and asserting, that since the year 1760, the emigrations from Europe, or elsewhere, to Connecticut, have been trifling, in comparison to the emigrations from Connecticut to New Jersey, New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Nova Scotia, &c.; and, that it nevertheless doubles ten times in less than a century[3]. Governor Hutchinson informs us, that the importations of settlers to New England, generally, had ceased in 1640; since which time, as in the case of Connecticut, "more persons," he says, "have "removed out of New England to other parts of the "world than have come from other parts to it[4]."

(3) Mr. Malthus takes up the last passage, but deduces from it a very contrary conclusion to his authority, as has been already shewn: as he attempts to prove therefrom, that the inhabitants in the New England States have gone on doubling every five-and-twenty years. He seems, however, as he proceeds in his pretended demonstration, to desert New England, and to

[1] Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, p. 138.
[2] Dr. Williams, Hist. Vermont, passim.
[3] Hist. Connecticut, p. 263.
[4] Hutchinson, Hist. Massachusetts Bay, vol. i., p. 93.

transfer his argument to the United States generally: and though several of those States have been founded since the period at which he starts, and by emigration exclusively, still he omits all consideration of emigration whatsoever, till, I think, 1784, at which time, and thenceforward, he pronounces it to be (how erroneously remains to be seen) immaterial. And yet the geometric ratio cannot, after all, be made up. On such a rotten foundation is the pretended principle of population erected.

(4) I shall proceed to take a hasty and imperfect sketch of the history of emigration, from the period at which, in respect to some of the States, we are so confidently assured that it had ceased, down to the date of the last American census: imperfect and hasty it must necessarily be, as I am not in possession of all the authorities I could have wished to consult on the subject, nor have I sufficient leisure fully to examine those I possess. Moreover, were all the notices of emigration, direct or incidental, which are so profusely scattered over the records of the intervening times, collected before me, and could I present them entire to the reader, still the whole would only be so many evidences of the existence of emigration, instead of amounting to any proof of its actual extent. The great mass of those deportations has, as I conceive, been made up of those individual removals which were constantly taking place, and were little likely to attract the attention of the historian, though, in their consequences, they have not always escaped that of the statesman. It is not the perpetual recurrence of the genial showers, but the rarer visitations of the hurricane and the inundation, that are recorded; though the latter are as nothing compared with the former, in distributing the copious moisture that re-

freshes the earth. What follows, therefore, will be but the examples, rather than the history of emigration; which, indeed, would be little short of a record of the errors and the enterprises of modern Europe.

(5) It may be premised, that the causes of the emigration we are about to consider have been so numerous and powerful as to prove, at the outset, the consequences which will be shewn to have resulted from them. It is scarcely possible to imagine any motives which influence the conduct of human beings, that have not, in turn or unitedly, contributed to it. The love of dominion in the prince[1], of liberty and independence in the subject[2]; religious persecution[3]; political despotism[4]; the dread of poverty[5]; the thirst of gain[6]; the love of indolence[7], the spirit of enterprize[8]; the noblest and the most degrading motives[9], have alike contributed to people America. To these shores the sovereign has sent his adherents for their reward[10], or his opposers to their punishment[11]. During the earlier periods of this great migration, individuals of the highest rank and affluence personally engaged in its promotion[12]. Men of the lowest and most debased habits were included in it, either as fugitives or victims[13]. So important was it deemed, that the ruling powers, on principles of policy, alternately checked[14] and encouraged it[15];

[1] Morse, Geog., p. 93.
[2] Coxe, View of the United States, p. 202.
[3] M'Pherson, vol. ii., p. 646.
[4] Hist. of South Carolina, vol. i., p. 96.
[5] Hubbard, Present State of New England, p. 8.
[6] Gent. Mag. vol. xxv. p. 413, xli. p. 260.
[7] Hubbard, p. 8.
[8] Dr. Douglas, Summary, vol. i., p. 206.
[9] Ibid., p. 216.
[10] Hist. of South Carolina, vol. i., p 55. Morse, Geog., p. 55.
[11] Hist. of South Carolina, vol. ii., p. 132.
[12] Chalmers, Polit. Annals, p. 125.
[13] Douglas, Summary, vol. i., p. 206, 490.
[14] Hutchinson, Hist. of Massachusetts Bay, vol. i., pp. 32, 33.
[15] Hist. of South Carolina, vol. i., p. 54.

but, in conformity with the prevailing spirit of the age[1], the government of the mother country generally afforded direct encouragements to the numerous adventurers who were perpetually resorting to her colonial stations. If religious dissensions no longer fostered to so great a degree these expatriations, civil differences abundantly supplied their place. In the political revulsions which took place in the mother country, parties of the most opposite principles alternately made these colonies their asylum[2]; while a motive still more general than either, the spirit of commercial enterprise, contributed in a yet greater degree to the same result. Thus, for at least a century after the period to which we have particularly adverted, there never was a moment when events and feelings, in one country or other of the old world, did not contribute to increase rapidly the population of the new. At length, that greatest of all transatlantic events since the first colonization of America, the independence of the United States, took place; when, to the numbers still poured forth from every division of the mother country, multitudes were added from every kingdom of Europe, and emigration, as Simond expresses it, became "a fashion[4]:" so that at length there is not a settler, of whatever nation, that can arrive there an entire stranger; that is, who may not meet with the society of his own countrymen, if not of his kindred and personal friends, and fix where his language is spoken, and his religion professed. In a word, America has now become, as one of her best writers expresses it, "the colony of all Europe[5]."

[1] Davenant, Works, vol. ii., p. 3.
[2] Dr. Holmes, vol. i., p. 234. Rushforth, Collect., vol. ii., p. 2, p. 410. Chalmers, Polit. Ann., p. 330.
[3] Robertson, Hist. of America, b. x., p. 163.
[4] Simond, Switzerland, vol. i., p. 272.
[5] Coxe, View of the United States, p. 506.

(6) Commencing, then, with the date when it has been so frequently asserted emigrations to America ceased. The very year afterwards, it is stated, that the "flourishing colony of Newhaven" was settled by an emigration direct from England, headed by Messrs. Davenport and Eaton[1]. In the summer of the same year also "there arrived in the colony of Massachu- "setts, twenty ships, with at least three hundred "persons[2]." The next year George Fenwick, an emigrant gentleman "of great estate," founded Seabrook[3]; at the same time, Rowley, in Massachusetts, was settled by "sixty industrious and pious families from Yorkshire," who first introduced the woollen manufacture into North America[4]. But, not to particularise, to whatever period we advert, we shall find that some of the causes which originally planted America, still continued to increase its inhabitants. After the passing of the Act of Uniformity, especially, we learn that great numbers of dissenters continued to take refuge in the different colonies[5]. In the reign of the infatuated James, many also fled beyond the direct influence of his arbitrary proceedings[6]. He likewise banished thither the adherents of the unfortunate Monmouth[7], to be dealt with as convicts, who had been constantly transported to the colonies, since the days of his grandfather, James I[8]. The number of the latter I cannot ascertain, but I find in a provincial history, that those sent to one district only, about half a century afterward, were estimated at from 300 to 400 annually[9]. During the reigns of both the last Stuarts,

[1] Winthrop, Journal, pp. 131. 151. Mather, Magnal., book i., p. 25. Hutchinson, Hist. of Massachusetts Bay, vol. i., p. 83. Chalmers, Polit. Ann., p. 290.
[2] Winthrop Journal, p. 156.
[3] Dr. Holmes, American Annals, vol. i., p. 256.
[4] Winthrop Journal, p. 175.
[5] Hist. of South Carolina, vol. i., p. 172.
[6] Ibid., vol. i., p. 94.
[7] Chalmers, Polit. Annals, p. 358.
[8] Douglas, Summary, vol. i., p. 206.
[9] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 360.

grants of immense tracts of land continued to be made to distinguished individuals [1], who consequently established their proprietary governments there, and who, to render their patents of any value, had to take possession of their territories by sending out considerable bodies of emigrants, and to reinforce them continually by fresh supplies from the mother country. Hence, at this very period, to say nothing of minor settlements, two of the most populous and flourishing states, containing nearly one-third of the entire number of the white inhabitants now existing in the Union, were founded. I mean, New York [2] and Pennsylvania [3]. Both the Jerseys, also, were settled long after the period when we are to understand emigration had ceased [4], which, either in reference to New England or the other states of America, was just as true as though it had been said it had never begun.

(7) But the numbers individually withdrawing to the colonies were doubtless far greater than those taken thither at the expense of public proprietors. For instance, we find Sir William Petty and Lord Clarendon (no dubious authorities) both stating, regarding this continued emigration, and in the very same terms, that "men do daily go away [5]." Sir Matthew Hale speaks of "the vast number of "men that have transplanted themselves into Vir- "ginia, Maryland, and New England [6]." Evelyn, whose situation as one of the council of plantations enabled him to judge accurately on this matter, mentions the "ruinous number of our men, daily flocking "to the American plantations [7]." But we have in-

[1] Ramsay, Hist. S. Carolina, p. 1, 12. Smith, New York, pp. 10, 11. Universal Hist., Mod. vol. xxxix., pp. 348, 362.
[2] Dr. Holmes, vol. i., pp. 325, 326.
[3] Proud, Hist. Pennsyl., p. 170, 196.
[4] Holmes, Amer. Ann., vol. i., p. 325.
[5] Sir William Petty, Anal. of Ireland, p. 18. Lord Clarendon (Letter, Oct. 2, 1686), Memoirs.
[6] Hale, Origination of Mankind, p. 13.
[7] Evelyn, Navigation and Commerce, p. 112.

formation of a still more decisive, because of an official character, upon this matter. The commissioners of the customs, from their situation certainly the best enabled to judge as to the extent of these deportations, remonstrated against the encouragement of people to remove to the plantations. "Too many," said they, "go thither to the unpeopling and ruin "of the kingdom[1]." The same fact was repeated in Parliament, where we meet with such language as this: "They" (the plantations) "have a constant "supply out of England, which will in time drain us "of people, as now Spain is, and will endanger our "ruin, as now the Indies do Spain[2]."

(8) It is as clearly impossible to fix, with any appearance of precision, the annual amount of emigration at this period, as it is to deny that it was great, and must have been astonishingly conducive to the increase of the colonies. Gregory King and Davenant, it is true, both estimate its extent. The latter writer, who, when advocating, in the spirit of a special pleader, the colonial system, and labouring to obviate the great objection to it, on account of its "draining the kingdom of its people," was certainly little disposed to overrate the numbers it abstracted, says, that "for "the last eighty years, there have not gone more than "1000 annually to America, over and above the ac-"cession of foreigners to this country[3]." The very expression which King also makes use of[4]. We must learn, then, the amount of these accessions to the mother country, which must be added to this thousand, before we can judge of the yearly additions made to the population of the colonies, from England alone,

[1] Chalmers, Polit. Annals, p. 541.
[2] Grey, Parliamentary Debates, vol. i., p. 40.
[3] Davenant, Works, vol. ii., p. 3.
[4] Gregory King, Polit. Conclusions. Chalmer, Estimate, p. 418.

by emigration. And we need not hesitate to conclude, that these foreign accessions had been very great, especially as the term takes in the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Davenant informs us, in another part of his works, that they already amounted to 30,000 in two quarters of London alone, living entirely together without intermarrying with the English, or learning their language[1], exclusive of those residing in other parts of the metropolis, or dispersed throughout the kingdom. Indeed, it is supposed, that the number of French protestants alone, who fled to England during the reign of Charles II., amounted to about 100,000 souls[2]. Whatever might have been the number, it was doubtless greatly augmented, when the persecutions of Germany were added to those of France. Let those who totally lose sight of emigration to North America at this period, and declare it immaterial in any subsequent one, add to Davenant's thousand, the total amount of the continental emigrants and refugees to England at this period, which his computation plainly includes; and reducing, like him, their calculation to the lowest possible number, deny, if they can, the great effect which such constant accessions must have upon the increase of any community, and especially one so small as that which they represent the colonies to have been.

(9) Nor are we, by any means, to suppose that the population of America was, in the mean time, recruited by emigrations from these shores exclusively; on the contrary, numbers of the persecuted, both of France[3] and Germany[4], had found the nearest way to their ultimate asylum from the inhuman atrocities

[1] Davenant, Works, vol. ii., p. 187.
[2] Dr. Short, New Observations, p. 183.
[3] Dr. Holmes, American Annals, vol. i., p. 397. Hist. of Virginia, p. 389.
[4] Proud, Hist. of Pennsylvania, pp. 219, 220.

to which they were exposed[1], and proceeded directly to America; induced to do so, no doubt, by the representations made by their brethren, many of whom had been settled there by the last Charles[2]. Nor were foreigners insensible to those other motives which have contributed so largely to the increase of American population. Holland, for instance, had not ceased to send emigrants to America, though she had lost her settlement there[3]; and we are also informed, that even thus early, "the renown of the country, and the "encouragement given by the proprietaries, induced "many foreigners of various nations to emigrate "thither[4]." Hence, the recently established colony of Philadelphia had, from the very first, numerous such accessions. In the first three years, there arrived fifty sail of ships with passengers or settlers, amongst which were vessels direct from Holland and Germany, as well as from various parts of England[5]. We are informed also, that there were great emigrations to Carolina, and, indeed, to America generally, during the reign of James II.[6] In a word, we are assured, that between the Restoration and the Revolution, "great numbers of foreigners transported themselves thither[7]."

(10) The computation of King and Davenant, regarding the annual emigrations to the colonies, extend far into the succeeding reign, that of William III.; and, consequently, render any other proof of the continuance of these large and constant additions to the population of America unnecessary. It was the policy of his government to encourage the trade

[1] Hist. of South Carolina, vol. i., p. 94.
[2] Chalmers, Polit. Annals, p. 541.
[3] Smith, Hist. of New York, p. 9.
[4] Chalmers, Polit. Annals, p. 541.
[5] Proud, Hist. of Pennsylvania, pp. 219, 220, 230.
[6] Hist. of Carolina, vol. i., p. 94. Universal Hist., Mod. Part, vol. xli., pp. 424, 426.
[7] Chalmers, Polit. Annals, p. 315.

and support the colonies of the country; and his political views and religious principles equally disposed him to promote the emigration of his persecuted Protestant brethren, and to afford them an asylum. Besides, therefore, the continued additions to the colonial population already adverted to, he settled large numbers of French refugees and others in the different colonies, particularly in Virginia[1] and Carolina[2], in which latter state they are noticed as having been a great acquisition[3]. Their number I do not find mentioned, but they had six representatives allotted to them in the assembly[4], and became so numerous as to excite constant jealousy in the colony[5]; which feeling, however, their quiet and inoffensive behaviour at length allayed[6]. These settlements of foreigners, by the British government, was a circuitous mode of emigration, which always led to a direct one. For instance, in the concluding year of the seventeenth century, we find that three hundred French people followed their countrymen, and arrived in Virginia; the year succeeding, two hundred others, and afterward one hundred more[7].

(11) In the reign of Queen Anne, emigrations were constantly going on, though not so liable to notice as those which originated in European politics, or especially such as went in bodies to settle new states. The supply of numbers the mother country sent forth was still increased by foreign accessions. Thus, the French emigrants had become so numerous in this early period as to have a church, even in Boston[8]. We read, in M'Pherson's History of Commerce, that

[1] Hist. of South Carolina, &c., vol. i., p. 108.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., p. 111.
[5] Ibid., p. 132.
[6] Ibid., p. 139.
[7] Hist. of Virginia, p. 380.
[8] Dr. Douglas, Summary, vol. i., p. 368.

" in May, 1709, seven thousand poor Palatines and " Swabians took refuge in England. Three thousand " of these were sent over to New York and settled " there; many of whom being badly received, removed " to Pennsylvania, and being kindly entertained by " the Quakers, afterwards proved the means of draw- " ing many thousands of German and Swiss Protestants " thither, whereby Pennsylvania is since become by " far the most populous and flourishing colony of any " in North America[1]." Another body of foreigners, as they were then termed, (the emigrants from the mother country being never yet so denominated,) settled in South Carolina: Swedes also continued to emigrate during this reign[2]; in which, from first to last, the population of the colonies received large additions, otherwise than by " procreation only."

(12) 'The accession of the House of Brunswick gave an additional impulse to the advance of British America, both as to its prosperity and population; and the colonial governments held out great inducements to settlers, which were eagerly accepted from all parts. This is particularly noted of the state of New York[3]; the other colonies, however, participated in the same policy, which had the effect of bringing over great numbers. Five hundred Irish settled in South Carolina at once, in consequence of the privileges thus afforded[4]. Indeed, the emigrations from Ireland to the different states of North America, from that period to the present, were they accurately enumerated, would, of themselves, without a single accession from any other country, be fully sufficient to demolish the geometric theory of human increase, as

[1] M'Pherson, Hist. of Commerce, vol. iii., p. 6. Douglas, Summary, vol. ii., p. 146.

[2] Douglas, Summary, vol. ii., p. 146.

[3] Universal History, Mod. Part, vol. xxxix., p. 354.

[4] Hist. of Carolina, p. 230. Newenham, Statistical Inquiry, pp. 58, 59.

founded on American procreation. In a little tract by Prior, published in 1729, entitled "A List of Absentees," it is noticed that already 3,000 went annually to America[1]—a fact which only confirms the assertions of Primate Boulter on the same subject. In a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, dated in 1728, his Grace says, "we have hundreds of families "moving out of the north of Ireland to America[2]." In another letter, written in the same year, and to the same nobleman (the Prime Minister), he says, "whatever occasions their going, it is certain that above "4200 men, women, and children, have been shipped "off from hence, within these three years, and of these "above 3000 last summer[3]." An historian of Ireland says, that the annual emigration from Ulster alone was not then less than the latter number, which, he observes, afterwards increased[4]. Indeed, in the very year following, we have an account of the emigration to Pennsylvania alone, amounting to 6200 persons, above 5000 of whom were Irish, the remainder English, Welsh, Scotch, and Germans[5]. Extraordinary as these early accessions may appear to those who represent emigration as so trifling an accessory to American increase, they are substantiated on all hands, and are, undoubtedly, true. Thus, M'Pherson, noticing the thousands of Irish tenants who went thither, mentions also the continued emigration of the English, Welsh, and Scotch, as well as that of the German Protestants, at this period[6]. Indeed, the history of the State of Pennsylvania is one continued record of emigration, and its effect on population, and might be transferred in those respects to the other and newer

[1] Prior, List of Absentees, p. 13.
[2] Boulter, Letters.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Gordon, Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii., p. 206.
[5] Dr. Douglas, vol. ii., p. 326. Universal Hist., Mod., vol. xli., p. 28. Warden, United States, vol. ii., p. 101.
[6] M'Pherson, Hist. of Commerce, vol. ii., p. 599.

states. "After the revolution of 1688 had taken "place," say the writers of the Universal History, "Pennsylvania was no longer considered a refuge for "the persecuted, but as one of the chief emporiums of "America, and it was filled with colonists of all parts "of the world. Besides the English, Scotch, and "Irish, vast numbers of Palatines went every year to "it from the port of Rotterdam, and their example "was followed by other Germans, Swedes, &c.[1]" Not that we are to suppose that the stream of emigration was directed to this State exclusively, though it has always been observed to flow principally towards one point for a limited time. Shortly after the period last mentioned, we find a single individual settling 600 Swedes in Carolina[2]; a number of Saltzburghers also fixed in the same district[3], and were soon followed by others of their countrymen[4]. In the following year, 1735, the Vaudois began to settle there[5], and their countrymen, as well as those of the former, it is said, continued to flock to them[6].

(13) About this time, a new colony, Georgia, was projected, and upon very benevolent, though, as I presume to think, mistaken principles. There were then numerous converts, as there always have been, to the notion of a "redundant population," but with this difference: in those times they little dreamt of restraining it by what are called the checks. It is, however, worthy of remark, that it was at the period when the population of England was actually retrograding, that it was thought to be most "redundant," and such will always be found the case, as it always has been. The first embarkations to Georgia were of

[1] Universal Hist., Mod. Part, vol. xli., p. 26.
[2] Ibid., vol. xl., p. 441.
[3] Ibid., vol. xli., p. 458.
[4] Ibid., vol. xli., p. 459.
[5] Ibid., vol. xl., p. 442.
[6] Ibid.

"poor people from England, collected from towns and "cities[1], who, by their labour, were not able to pro- "cure a maintenance for themselves and families[2]." This colony was first settled in 1733, and, in three of the succeeding years, colonists from the highlands of Scotland and from Germany[3] were also added. Without, however, going into particulars, I find that more than five thousand persons had been sent thither between 1732 and 1741[4]; and, from the shares of land distributed to adventurers, we perceive that an almost equal number of the latter description of persons had also emigrated[5].

(14) It is superfluous to observe that emigration had not abated, as it respected the other and more prosperous colonies. Not only did England replenish these, but we learn that the people of Ireland still continued to proceed to America in great numbers. Multitudes of Irish labourers and husbandmen embarked about this period for Carolina[6]. To this colony the Switzers also began to resort at about the same period. M. Pury brought over from Switzerland one hundred and twenty of his poor countrymen, and was joined soon after by two hundred more[7]. Since which time it is needless to say how large a proportionate quota that country has added to the population of America[8]. The state gave every encouragement to these, as well as to all other settlers[9]. It would seem, indeed, that emigration from the continent of Europe had now become general; as not only colonial regulations, but various general acts of Parliament, were made with

[1] Holmes, Amer. Ann., vol. ii., p. 113. Hist. of South Carolina, vol. ii., p. 45.
[2] Georgia Charter, published by the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, p. 1.
[3] Hist. of South Carolina, vol. ii., p. 45.
[4] Gent. Mag., 1756, p. 26.
[5] Georgia Charter, pub. by the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, pp. 14, 15, 16.
[6] Historical Account of South Carolina, vol. ii., p. 63.
[7] Hist. South Carolina, vol. ii., p. 26.
[8] Simond, Switzerland, vol. i., p. 272.
[9] Dr. Holmes, American Annals, vol. ii., p. 118.

the express view of regulating it: such as the statute of 13 of Geo. II., c. 7, which was passed in favour "of some thousands of protestants, persecuted and "oppressed in Germany and elsewhere; also in favour "of protestants from Switzerland, &c., all of whom were "before and about this time, settled in the different "provinces of the British continent of America, chiefly "in the back parts thereof westward[1]." In reference to the general subject of these volumes, the preamble to this act is well deserving of notice: "Whereas, "the increase of people is the means of advancing the "wealth and strength of any nation; be it enacted," &c.[2]" Another act was passed soon afterwards, extending the same provisions "to Moravians, and other "foreign protestants, who had settled in the colonies, "and many others of the like persuasion who were "desirous to transport themselves thither," &c.[3] About this time, the prisoners taken at Culloden and elsewhere, adherents to the unfortunate Charles, were deported to the colonies[4], as were another and a more disgraceful class of culprits, to an extent that at length gave the colonists umbrage. I mean the transported felons: their numbers were small, indeed, compared with the additions of a more reputable kind; but still they were additions. By an accurate census of the State, taken a little after this time, I find they were nearly one-fiftieth part of the entire number of the white inhabitants[5]; a population which by no means justifies the observation of a sarcastic political writer of our day, that the Adam and Eve of America came out of Newgate, but still one which certainly was not

[1] Anderson, Hist. Commerce, vol. ii., p. 363.
[2] Statutes at large, c. ii.
[3] Anderson, Hist. Commerce, vol. ii., p. 384.
[4] Hist. Carolina, vol. ii., p. 132.
[5] Holmes, American Annals, vol. ii., p. 184. By a very accurate census, the white inhabitants were found to be, in Maryland, 107,208 persons, of whom 1981 were convicts.

immaterial to the increase of the population. In the summer of 1749, we are informed, nearly 12,000 Germans came over to Philadelphia, many of whom staid in that province[1]. In the year following (unless different authorities have confounded the same facts) there arrived an equal number in 24 or 25 sail of ships[2]. About the same time another body of 4317 Germans, and above 1000 British and Irish, were imported into the province of Pennsylvania alone, in one year[3]; and 3000 persons are noticed as having embarked at this period in this country for America[4]. Nor had the emigration to the New England States even yet ceased, as in the year 1752 it is recorded that several hundred German protestants settled in Massachusetts[5]; and again, (though it is an anachronism to introduce it here,) 2000 families, twenty years afterwards, made application for new or vacant lands in the same Province[6].

(15) Whichever way, therefore, we direct our attention, we find abundant proofs not only of the existence, but of the vast extent of emigration, at this period; which is one sufficiently removed from the present time to make the slightest fact relative to it bear strongly upon the pretended demonstration of the geometric theory. Thus, in the year 1762, the governor of South Carolina informs the assembly in his speech, in which he dilates upon the prosperity of the colony, that "there are at present in "this harbour of Charleston, two ships, with up- "wards of 800 protestants on board, and two others "are expected hourly with a like number. If they "are settled comfortably," he adds, "they will en-

[1] Professor Kalm, Travels in North America, vol. i., p. 48.
[2] Gent. Mag. for 1750, p. 533.
[3] Dr. Douglas, Sum., vol. ii., p. 327.
[4] Gent. Mag. 1751, p. 264.
[5] Ibid., vol. xxii., p. 383.
[6] Ibid., vol. liii., p. 469.

"they will encourage many others to come[1]"—information which was subsequently confirmed to us from another quarter[2]. We cannot suppose that the other colonies were less fortunate in this respect, though their governors might not happen to pronounce the intelligence of similar arrivals so ostensibly. In 1754, 5000 Germans landed in Philadelphia alone[3]. This was indeed the chief, but certainly not the only colony to which the Germans resorted. In the latter end of Queen Anne's reign they first found their way thither in considerable numbers, and those who were settled encouraged their friends throughout Germany to come over to them. From that time to this (1755), says the writer I am quoting, it has been calculated that there went from the port of Rotterdam alone, from 4000 to 8000 Palatines annually to Pennsylvania, besides many English, Scotch, and Irish[4]. The consequence was, that the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Anabaptists, &c., who had crowded upon them, far outnumbered the original settlers and their descendants, the Quakers, and (which is an abundant proof of the fact) fixed a military establishment upon the colony[5].

(16) The greater increase of this State, than any of the others, notwithstanding that the accession to the rest had been constant and large, is therefore accounted for. Dr. Douglas, who published his Historical Summary of the British Settlements, before the close of the former half of the last century[6], speaks of the vast importation of Palatines, Saltzburghers, and other foreigners; and mentions his apprehensions,

[1] Universal History, Mod. Pt., vol. xl., p. 443.
[2] Wynne, History of the British Empire in America, vol. ii., p. 272.
[3] Furstenwarthers Deutsche in N. Amerika.
[4] Gent. Mag., vol. xxv., p. 16.
[5] Ibid., vol. xxv., p. 413.
[6] He died in 1752.

that the Germans, in particular, would, in progress of time, become possessed of the chiefest and most valuable part of our lands[1]. Indeed, he said, that "the "number of Germans imported into this province or "colony, in the course of about twenty-five years last "past, has been so excessive, that if it is not limited by "a provincial act, or by the dernier resource, an act of "parliament, the province and territories of Pennsyl-"vania may soon degenerate into a foreign colony[2]." A German writer also notes, that from 1750 to the time in which he wrote, 1754, there arrived at Philadelphia, yearly, about the close of autumn, from twenty to twenty-four vessels, which, during that period, disembarked more than 24,000 persons[3]. Nor can we suppose that the practice ceased as he laid down his pen. Even Franklin, after having said so much in honour of American prolificness, (how correctly remains to be shewn,) and who, consequently, was little disposed to attribute the increase of population there to any other cause, allows, nevertheless, that there were, in 1755, 80,000 emigrants in Pennsylvania; meaning, doubtless, to confine that number and his objection to its increase, to what were then denominated foreigners, which the English then never were[4], and, indeed, seldom now are—a most important distinction, which must be kept in mind throughout. It is, indeed, impossible to suppose otherwise; else his vituperative remarks would have reflected on his own father and his whole kindred. Regarding others, and especially the Germans, he ex-

[1] Dr. Douglas, Summary, vol. ii., pp. 119, 120.

[2] Ibid., p. 317.

[3] Hist. of Pennsylvania, translated from the German, by M. Roussetot, quoted from Warden, vol. ii., p. 101.

[4] "By foreign settlers is to be understood—1. Germans from the Rhine, "Mozelle, and other parts. 2. Protestants from the South of France, &c."—Bartram, Description of East Florida, (1769) p. 31, note.

claims loud enough, "Why should the Palatine boors, "be suffered to swarm into our settlements, and by "herding together establish their manners and lan-"guage, to the exclusion of ours[1]?"

(17) But, it is somewhat singular and illiberal that these views should have been entertained in a province where every soul, either in his own person, or in that of his immediate ancestor, had been an emigrant within the short period of threescore and ten years before. They, however, prevailed, and the governor of the province at length yielded; and, "as the emigrants poured in," it is said, "in such "numbers, he refused to receive any more, unless "they paid a tax for their reception, which obliged "many ships, full of them, to go to other British set-"tlements." Henceforth, the stream of emigration divided, as it approached the Transatlantic shores, and became more equally diffused through every part of our colonial dominions.

(18) Let us here pause, and, taking into consideration the comparative paucity of the population of the American States at about this period, whether we estimate it according to the different enumerations which remain concerning it, or calculate its amount inversely from the last census, according to the ratio in which we are assured it has since increased "by procreation only;" and, going backwards to the time with which we commenced, comprehending a period of above a century, let us ask, whether any one can be so wedded to a theory as to persist in supposing that accessions, so constant and vast, to numbers originally so feeble, can have been "immaterial?" The absurdity of such an assertion could hardly be increased were the

[1] Dr. Franklin.

period to which it is applied doubled, and it should therefore be maintained that American increase has proceeded, independent not only of these early and uninterrupted accessions, but even of the original planters themselves, the founders and fathers of American colonization.

CHAPTER VI.

OF EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA. ITS HISTORICAL PROOFS CONCLUDED.

(1) In the last reign, the most eventful epocha in modern times, whether it respects American or European history, and after the peace of 1763, which had added greatly to the security and extent of the American colonies, the encouragements to emigration were considerably increased. Not only did government hold out every facility to private enterprise, but rewarded its victorious officers and soldiers by large donations of land, in proportion to their rank, to induce them to settle there [1]. Palatines [2], and other foreigners, continued to emigrate, but the largest accessions of inhabitants were still from the mother country, especially from Ireland and Scotland. Thus an historian of one of the provinces, already quoted, says, "Besides foreign Protestants, several persons from England and Scotland resorted to Carolina after the peace; but, of all other countries, none has furnished the province with so many inhabitants as Ireland. In the northern counties of that kingdom the spirit of emigration seized the people, to such a degree, that it threatened almost a total depopulation. Such multitudes of husbandmen, labourers, and manufacturers flocked over the Atlantic, that the landlords began to be alarmed, and to concert ways and means to prevent the growing evil. Scarce a ship sailed

[1] King's Proclamation, Dr. Holmes, vol. ii., p. 221.

[2] Hist. of South Carolina, vol. ii., p. 273.

"for any of the plantations that was not crowded "with men, women, and children; and the merchants "often crammed such numbers into their ships, that "they were in danger of being stifled during the pas- "sage[1]." Nor was Ireland the only division of the kingdom which furnished the emigrations to America. We have no particular account, indeed, of the numbers that went from England or Wales at this period, but concerning Scotland, Knox, in his view of the British Empire, says, "it is certain that between the "years 1763 and 1775, above 30,000 people aban- "doned their habitations in the highlands, besides great "numbers in the lowlands[2]." "Admitting," says Macpherson, "the immense number to be just, we may "safely venture to assert, that the emigrants from the "highlands alone are now (1799) increased to 60,000 "subjects of the United States[3]." We know also that the spirit of emigration had begun to spread in the more populous districts of the lowlands, though the numbers from thence, any more than those from England, we find nowhere estimated[4].

(2) But the emigrations to America were neither confined to the British islands, nor exclusively directed to any particular province of America. Thus we learn, incidentally, (as, I again observe, we must gather all the facts pertaining to the subject,) from the report of Lieut.-Governor Bull, of South Carolina, dated 1770, among other important matters, the prosperous state of a colony of French Protestants, settled in that province in 1764, and of a large body of Germans, established there in the ensuing year[5]. Indeed, the

[1] Hist. of South Carolina, vol. ii., p. 273.
[2] Knox, View of the British Empire.
[3] Macpherson, Hist. of Commerce, vol. iii., p. 546.
[4] Sir J. Sinclair, Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. vi., p. 146.
[5] Universal Hist., Mod. Part, vol. xl., p. 443.

Assembly of that province had appropriated a large fund for bounties to foreign Protestants, and such poor people of Great Britain and Ireland as should resort thither[1]. And we are informed that besides foreign Protestants, several emigrated from England and Scotland, and great multitudes from Ireland, in consequence[2]. But, the emigrations from the latter country, connected as they were with questions of deep national interest, have usually attracted the most specific notice. Thus, in the two years 1771 and 1772, Macpherson informs us, that there sailed from the northern parts of Ireland for North America, sixty-two vessels, measuring 17,350 tons, and it is supposed these vessels carried as many passengers as they measured tons. Most of the emigrants paid for their passage £3. 10*s*. each[3]. The same author subsequently says; "the spirit of emigration from the "north of Ireland last year still continued. The "highland part of Scotland was also infected with "the same eagerness of change, and great numbers "of people from Glengary, Ross, and Sutherland, "and from the islands of Sky, Lewes, &c. broke "through the strong attachment to the land of their "fathers, which had been for ages their distinguishing "characteristic," (he should have said, their inexorable landlords broke it asunder,) "and crossed the Atlantic, "to cultivate the waste lands, and augment the mili-"tary force of America, where such an accession of "population, at such a critical moment, was welcomed "with joy and astonishment[4]." But, referring to the note below for further proofs of the general emigra-

[1] Dr. Holmes, American Annals, vol. ii., p. 224. They are at the expense of 4000*l*. a-year, in bounties given for the importation of foreign Protestants. (1769.) Bartram, Descrip. of East Florida, p. 31.

[2] Hist. of South Carolina and Georgia, vol. ii., pp. 268. 274.

[3] Macpherson, History of Commerce, vol. ii.

[4] Ibid., vol. iii., p. 546.

tion from the highlands at this period[1], I return to Ireland. In the year 1784, there appeared an accurate statement of the numbers who emigrated to America in the years 1771, 1772, and 1773. It was as follows :—

PORTS.	In the Year 1771.		In the Year 1772.		In the Year 1773.	
	Ships.	People.	Ships.	People.	Ships.	People.
Belfast -	7	1750	10	2650	13	3400
Newry -	9	2800	5	1600	8	2550
Derry -	13	3650	9	2600	14	4050
Larne -	2	450	5	1300	4	1300
Portrush -	1	250	1	250		
	32	8900	30	8400	39	11300

[1] I take a few instances from one of Sir J. Sinclair's invaluable works, "The Statistical Account of Scotland":—

From 1771 to 1775, several thousands emigrated from the Western Highlands to America, vol. xiii., p. 316.

Glenely.—Inhabitants 1286. Emigrations from 1770 to 1774, 160; in 1785, 14; in 1787, 10; in 1793, 130—total, 414, or one-third of the population.

Knowdort.—One thousand inhabitants. Emigrations from 1770 to 1793, 800. Vol. xvi., p. 267.

Sky.—From 1771 to Oct. 1790, eight large transports have sailed from this island with emigrants, to seek settlements in America, which have, at a moderate computation, taken away 2400 souls: exclusive of the above, 200 males, and 207 females, emigrated from this parish alone from 1772 to 1775. Duirinish, Sky. Vol. iv., p. 133.

Ardchattan.—Within these two or three years, 140 persons have emigrated from hence to America, and this year more are proposing to follow. Vol. vi., 191; xv. 495; xvi. p. 178.

Jura.—Emigrating to America has proved, once and again, a drain to this island. Vol. xii., p. 324.

Colonsay.—A few emigrated from hence to America in the summer of 1792, but in the summer of 1791 a considerable portion of the inhabitants crossed the Atlantic. Vol. xii., p. 324.

South Uist.—Emigration from hence commenced in 1772. Vol. xiii., p. 298.

Isle of Eigg.—In 1788 and 1790, 183 souls emigrated from this parish to America. N.B. Population only 399. Vol. xvii., p. 281.

Coll.—Men, women, and children emigrated to America in 1792. Vol. x., p. 416.

Lochbroom.—Great numbers of the people emigrate to America. Vol. x., p. 470.

Highlands.—A rage for emigration has got to a great height of late in the highlands. Vol. i., pp. 488, 489.

Begun in the lowland country. Vol. p. 146.

It is unnecessary to augment these extracts. I shall rather refer to a few of the passages where emigration is further noticed, such as those in vol. vi., pp. 131, 132, 305, 574; ix. 159; x. 62. 324, 325; xi. 293. 425: xiii. 332; xiv. 191; xv. 495; xvi. 290, &c., &c., where these, and similar passages, describe the "spirit of emigration," "the rage of emigration," or "frequent and numerous emigrations," as taking away great numbers. I shall only add, with a view to the further consideration of the effect of this

These make a total number of 28,600 persons, or an annual average of 9532 emigrants[1]. From another quarter we learn, that so vast was the emigration from Ireland in the last year, "that there landed in Phila-"delphia, from only two ports, not less than 12,000 "families."

(3) These statements receive confirmation from an official document of the highest authority. A Report of a Committee of the Irish Parliament states, that from the port of Belfast, 3541 persons embarked for America, between Oct. 1771 and Oct. 1773. About 6000 shipped at Derry at the same time; and the whole emigration from the province of Ulster was estimated to amount to, at least, 30,000 people, whereof 10,000 were weavers, many of whom carried their weaving utensils with them. But the Report alluded to was upon the state of the linen manufacture of Ireland, which, it is well known, is almost entirely limited to that province, to which the notice of these emigrations was consequently also confined. We are not to conclude, therefore, that accounts regarding the amount of emigration throughout the whole island, which exceed the foregoing numbers, are exaggerations. Commencing with the year 1771, we find "the "number of emigrants from five ports in Ireland, for "five years, estimated at 43,720;" but to this document is added a remark, highly pertinent to the full view of the subject,—"it were to be wished we had "an estimate of the other parts of Ireland[2];" whence we know from other sources, that there were perpetual, though not such extensive, emigrations[3]. In

constant emigration on the population of America, that they are sometimes said to consist of young men exclusively. See vol. iv., p. 106; vol. vi., p. 145, &c.

[1] Newenham, Statis. Inq. concerning the Population of Ireland, pp. 58, 59, 60.

[2] Gent. Mag., vol. xliv., p. 332.

[3] Arthur Young, Tour in Ireland, vol. ii., p. 6.

a document, which has the appearance of correctness, we meet with the entire number of emigrants, which arrived in six of the colonies, during a period of less than four months only, namely, from the 3d of August, 1773, to the 29th November following; the amount was 7678 individuals, of whom 6222 were Irish[1]. Indeed, it is impossible to turn to documents at all bearing upon the question, whether historical or statistical, in which the vast emigration to the colonies, and especially from Ireland, is not recorded. Even the daily papers of that period are constantly noticing the fact[2].

(4) If the American war gave a temporary check to emigration to the then colonies of America, at least as far as it regarded the mother country, the event of that contest, which constituted them an united and independent country, has unquestionably promoted it to a degree previously unparalleled. One of its first

[1] The particulars are as follows: "Emigrations from Ireland, from the 3d of August, 1773, to the 29th of November following, which was taken in Philadelphia, and the other towns, upon the emigrants being landed there, and transmitted by the Isabella, Capt. Fleming:

At New York		1611
Philadelphia		2086
Charleston		966
New Jersey		326
Halifax		516
Rhode Island, Newport,		717
Emigration from Ireland in nearly four months		6222
From England, Scotland, and Germany, there were landed within the same period		1400
From the Isle of Man		56
		7678

[2] For instance; The Philadelphia Gazette of the 4th of July, says, "Since our last, arrived here and at Newcastle, brig Agnes, from Belfast, with 210 passengers; ship Needham, from Newry, with 500; ship Betsey, from Newry, with 360; snow Penn, from Cork, with 80. Within the first fortnight in August, 3500 passengers arrived in Pennsylvania from Ireland. In October, a snow arrived at Philadelphia, from Galway, in the north of Ireland, with 80 passengers; a ship from Belfast, with 170 passengers; and a ship from Holland, with 140 passengers. In December, a brig from Dornock, in Scotland, arrived at New York, with about 200 passengers, and lost about 100 on the passage. Some emigrants settled in the more southern colonies. In August, 1773, 500 arrived at North Carolina from Ireland. In September, a brig arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, from Ireland, with 120 settlers." — President Styles, M. S. — quoted from Dr. Holmes's Amer. Ann., vol. ii., p. 255.

The above extract is given to shew, that the emigration was not confined, at this period, to Ulster, nor yet to Ireland.

fruits was the settling of the Hessian troops there, almost to a man[1]. But it is almost frivolous to mention such an accession, after an event which had entirely removed one of the greatest remaining barriers against continental emigration, and had constituted America, as one of her best writers expresses it, "the colony of Europe." Henceforth, the tide of emigration set in from almost every quarter of the old world, and threatened to overwhelm, instead of replenishing, the New. So great, indeed, did these accessions become, that some of the most influential of her public characters took reasonable alarm. Mr. Jefferson, for instance, does not argue, as if he supposed these accessions "immaterial," in a political point of view; how they could have been deemed so, in an arithmetical one, is, indeed, astonishing. They "will," says he, "share with us the legislation. They will inspire "into it their spirit; warp and bias its direction, and "render it a heterogeneous, incoherent, distracted "mass." He adds, and it is a direct proof of the presence of a vast mass of emigrants, at the period at which he wrote, "I may appeal to experience, for a "verification of these conjectures[2]." It is a great doubt, nevertheless, whether he, any more than Dr. Franklin, adverted to accessions from the mother country, in his objections to such unlimited emigrations, which had been encouraged from "the desire "of America to produce rapid population, by as great "importations as possible;" on the contrary, one of his strongest objections to such immense foreign importations is, "that they will transmit their language to their children." These views, founded doubtless upon obvious facts, whether those of sound policy or otherwise, prevailed: and the legislature of the United

[1] See Carey and Lea's America. [2] Jefferson, Notes on Virginia, pp. 141, 142.

States, sensible of the political danger to which they were thus exposed, altered the law of naturalization, postponing the admission of emigrants to the rights of citizenship some years beyond the term of residence previously required[1]. That this was no work of political supererogation is evident enough, from a fact which will be referred to hereafter. In one of the most flourishing States of the Union, it was found that a great majority of the House of Representatives were Irish and Germans, or their immediate descendants. Indeed, just at the period when the first census was taken, I see Mr. Coxe estimates the number of Germans only, at 150,000 to 180,000 souls[2]. Pennsylvania, indeed, to use the expression of Dr. Rush, in a short time after the termination of the war, had become "the great out-port of the United States, for Europeans[3]," an advantage which New York soon shared with her; hence the vast increase of those two States, while that of Virginia, little more than half as well peopled as either, is far slower even than that of the mother country.

(5) But it is perhaps less easy to fix upon any direct calculation, as to the annual emigrations to America, since the war of independence, than it was even before that event: we meet, indeed, in every direction, indications that they were vast and universal; but the great increase in the commercial intercourse between the whole of Europe and America, and of the shipping engaged in it, had now given the utmost facilities to individual and independent emi-

[1] Such was the vast influx of Europeans, that the legislature altered the term of residence required for naturalization, from two to five years.—Wanley, Journal of an Excursion to the U.S., p. 243.

[2] Tench, Coxe, View of the United States, p. 101.

[3] Manchester Phil. Transactions, vol. iii., p. 183.

gration, which was perpetually proceeding, and to a vast extent; but still the circumstance was too common and constant to be directly recorded. In addition, however, to such perpetual opportunities of transport, the great demand for conveyance created a distinct and gainful branch of commercial pursuit, namely, that of carrying emigrants to America[1]. And I may so far digress, as to ask whether this part of the "carrying trade" is even now immaterial? On the contrary, how many thousand tons of vessels are employed in the conveyance of these "commodities," as they were then called[2]! So active has been this "branch of business," that the governments of different countries, and especially, to its high honour, that of America, which witnessed the necessity of interfering, have from time to time regulated it, and attempted to adjust its "briskness" to the feelings of humanity, but too often, alas! ineffectually. In their crowded condition, these vessels too often equalled slave ships, and not unfrequently exceeded the latter in mortality[3].

(6) It is neither necessary, nor would it be possible, to give an estimate of these annual accessions to the population of America during the few years from the close of the war to the commencement of the present century. France, we know, now began to send forth settlers to these States[4]. Germany still furnished them in "incredible numbers[5]." Scotland, especially its highlands, resumed its spirit of emigration, so that, as Dupin observes, "towards the close of the eighteenth

[1] Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, vol. iii., p. 644.

[2] The ship Paca, Captain Kelly, from Belfast, arrived at Baltimore on the 20th July, 1784, with above 460 emigrants; and on the 24th of the same month, another vessel arrived with 600! More ships with the same *commodity*, are daily expected from the latter place. —Ibid.

[3] Macpherson, Annals of Commerce.

[4] Volney, View of the United States, p. 360.

[5] Dr. Render, Travels in Germany, vol. i., p. 176.

century, the depopulation became alarming[1]." In one year, I find it noted, that "five thousand high-"landers had emigrated to America; and that five "thousand or more were about to follow[2]." Regarding England, how many families are there of the middle and lower ranks, or, in other words, of the mass of the community, who did not, at this period, add a friend or a relative to the population of the United States? As it respects Ireland, it is, assuredly, superfluous to continue the proofs of the extensive and continued emigrations it poured forth to America. Major Newenham, after a careful and patient examination of the subject, in his invaluable volume regarding the population of Ireland, concludes that, during fifty years of the last century, in seven of which emigration was interrupted by the war, two hundred thousand Irish had emigrated to America; a computation which, I conceive, falls much short of the real number, as, indeed, he himself apprehended[3].

(7) I shall equally decline attempting any detailed account of emigration during the present century, which is the less necessary, as subsequent views of the subject will shew the vast number of emigrants that are now existing in the United States. As, however, we approach the period of the last census, I shall select a few unconnected notices of these accessions to its numbers, in order to leave the subject more fully upon the reader's mind; who has finally to judge whether, from first to last, the aggregate of such additions can have been immaterial to American increase.

(8) To commence, then, with the first year of general peace. In 1815, we are informed, that the

[1] Dupin, Commercial Power of Great Britain, p. 190.

[2] Irvine, Inquiry, &c., p. 158.

[3] Newenham, Inquiry, p. 60.

arrivals in America from Ireland exceeded any thing in the Custom-house books[1]. In the three years succeeding, Mr. Godwin gives us, on official authority, the number of persons who had emigrated from the same country to North America. The total, he informs us, stands thus:—

Number of Persons emigrating from Dublin.....	6,645
from Ireland generally.	35,633[2]

The following is an extract of notices (I am still quoting the same able writer) appearing in Miles's Baltimore Weekly Register, a journal of the highest character in the United States for authenticity[3].

"August 16, 1817. Within the last two weeks, "ending yesterday morning, we have received ac- "counts of the arrival of twenty-six vessels at the "several ports of the United States, with two thou- "sand five hundred and twelve passengers, viz.

From Amsterdam, Germans and Swiss.....	1896
From England, Scotland, and Ireland	281
From the same, *viâ* Nova Scotia and Newfoundland....	238
From France	97
	2512

"Emigration.—August 30, 1817. The two weeks, "ending yesterday, gave us accounts of the arrival of "twenty-one vessels with emigrants from Europe, "viz.

From England, Ireland, and Scotland	557
From Holland, Germans and Swiss	365
From France	25
	947

"Of these one hundred and seventy-one reached the "United States *viâ* Halifax, though great inducements

[1] Monthly Mag., 1815, p. 191.
[2] Godwin, Inquiry concerning Population, p. 411.
[3] I observe Mr. Warden frequently quotes this paper as undoubted authority.

" are held out to settlers there. Many settlers, as they " are called, arrive in Canada, from whence hundreds " of them pass up the river, &c., and across into New " York and Ohio. It seems to be discovered, that it " is more convenient to reach our countries through " the British colonies than to come direct. Facilities " are afforded to the former, which are denied the " latter."

" Oct. 25, 1817.—Emigration.—The British ship " Mary Ann has arrived at Boston, in 50 days from " London, with 204 passengers. The Mary Ann was " bound to St. John's, Newfoundland, but the pas- " sengers, not wishing to go there, rose upon the crew, " and brought the vessel to Boston[1]."

(9) But we are not left to form an opinion as to the extent of emigration, from incidental notices only. Dr. Seybert says, that the passengers to ten of the principal ports of the United States, in the year 1817, amounted to 22,235; of whom 11,977 were from Great Britain and Ireland; 4164 from Germany and Holland; 1245 from France; 58 from Italy; 2901 from the British possessions in North America; 1569 from the West Indies; and from all other countries, 321. These, however, we may conclude, with the editor of Styles's Register, were far short of the number that arrived. And, independently of the general reasons why such accounts, if not wilfully exaggerated, must always fall short of the truth, the following in this instance may be specified: first, great numbers, it is understood, work their passage over to America, and are consequently not numbered as passengers; at all events, thousands of individuals in the mercantile navy of the United States, who are not natives of that country, ultimately settle there.

[1] Godwin, Inquiry concerning Population, pp. 412, 413.

Second, the ten ports enumerated by Dr. Seybert, though the principal, are not the only ones; on the contrary, not fewer than thirty ports were specified, as early as the year 1796, as being placed under their custom-house regulations[1]. Third, many emigrants land at Amboy, to avoid the bonds into which the captains are obliged to enter regarding them; and, lastly, immense numbers, it is stated, avail themselves of the facilities afforded by our Government for emigrating to our Canadian territories, and pass thence into those of the United States: a mode of emigration of which it is impossible to calculate, with any precision, the extent. And it is conceived that these, as well as other reasons, will always keep the numbers, as reported, very much under the truth, supposing even that there were a less evident disposition on the other side the water to underrate these accessions to American population. We have further reasons for believing Dr. Seybert's statement to be very far short of the whole truth. We can check one of his items by the report of M. Von Furstenwarther, who was commissioned to proceed to America, to serve and assist, as far as possible, the immense number of German emigrants who had settled in the United States, and were proceeding thither, especially that class of his countrymen well known by the appellation of Redemptioners, and who constitute the stock in what is called, in the United States, "the white slave trade." He says, when writing on the matter on which he was employed by his own government,—from the 12th of July, 1817, to the beginning of January ensuing, there arrived nineteen vessels, bringing with them passengers of that class to the amount of more than six thousand, being

[1] Macpherson, Annals of Commerce, vol. iv., p. 390.

half as many more of these only, and during the space of little more than five months, as Dr. Seybert allots to the Dutch and Germans of every description for the whole year. This is of itself a sufficient proof of the great deficiency (unintentional, I am sure) in his account of the emigration of the year in question, the only one concerning which he gives us any particulars on the subject. But, as it is observed in Styles's Register, in an article I am about to quote, the difficulty of obtaining information of the full number, even to those who are in the habit of collecting such accounts, is often insurmountable. But were we to admit that 22,235 was the real limit of emigration during one year, (1817,) still it will hardly be contended that such an addition, continued annually, would be immaterial.

(10) Dr. Seybert, indeed, seems to think that, in the year above mentioned, the one in which he wrote, unusually large emigrations had taken place. But this only argues that the practice was increasing. Thus, in the very year ensuing, namely, 1818, that emigration was still more extensive, is very certain. I again quote from Styles's Register, and am still obliged to Mr. Godwin's book for the opportunity of so doing.

"Sept. 12, 1818.—The current of emigration from "the British dominions to the United States never "was so strong as it is now. For the week ending "31st August, 2150 passengers, nearly the whole of "them emigrants from Europe, arrived at the single "port of New York; and for the subsequent week we "kept an account of the passengers registered in the "newspapers, (which is far short of the numbers that "arrived,) and found them to amount to 3000, for "five or six principal ports; and the aggregate may "be fairly estimated at 6000 for the two weeks pre-

"ceding the 6th of September. Of the 6000, about "4000 were from England, 1000 from Ireland, and "the rest from Scotland, Holland, and France; about "100 only from the latter[1]." Thus we see, that the amount of emigrants in a single fortnight, and to one port only, amounted to 6000.

(11) Mr. Hodgson, in his interesting "Letters from North America," has inserted an account of the number of passengers that arrived at the single port of New York, from the 1st of March, 1818, to the 11th December, 1819, which he copied from the official account at the mayor's office, and these amount to 18,292[1], exclusive of 16,628 reported as Americans, and, as I understand, sometimes erroneously, to avoid, perhaps, the tax exacted from them on their entrance[2]. Be that as it may, an accession from emigration of upwards of eighteen thousand individuals in less than a year and three-quarters, and at one port only, and that being a port at which the captains of vessels thus employed purposely avoid landing their passengers, may give us some idea as to the immense total which emigration was annually adding to the American population, up to the very date of the last census.

(12) But to this amount, at whatever it may be estimated, must be added a great proportion of the annual emigration which, for reasons perfectly familiar to the public, is directed in the first instance to Canada, but which constantly passes over into the territory of the United States. This, for some of the last years of the period now considered, is stated as having averaged 10,000 or 12,000. This account is confirmed by the author last quoted, who, at a rather early period of the year 1819, says, that more than

[1] Godwin, Inquiry, &c., p. 413.
[1] Hodgson, Letters from North America, vol. ii., p. 123.
[2] Emigration Report, 3 Pt., p. 103.

10,000 had already passed through Quebec[1]. The Emigrant Society (a charitable establishment, whose very name indicates the prevalence of emigration) reports, under date of the 11th Oct. 1819, according to Mr. Godwin, that the number of emigrants arriving at that port since the opening of the navigation for the present season, amounts to 12,000[2].

(13) These, then, are a few facts regarding the extent of the emigration to North America, at the closing year of the period we have been considering; but they relate to one or two ports only, and comprehend, generally speaking, only very short periods. Any general estimate which can be formed from them must necessarily be vast in amount. It may not, indeed, rise so high as the statement of Mr. Cobbett, who says, that during the twelve months preceding the 14th of August of this year, "upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand had landed[3];" but it will shew that it has probably a greater foundation in fact, than often satisfies the mere political computist. At all events, it is impossible to regard it, in any point of view whatsoever, as "immaterial." It would be easy to extend the proof of continued emigration beyond the date of the last census, and up to the present time, but it is obviously unnecessary. The argument, as far as arithmetic is concerned, closes at that period[4].

(14) In reviewing this history of American emigration from the period with which it commenced to

[1] Hodgson, Letters from North America, vol. i., p. 386.

[2] Godwin, Inquiry, p. 411.

[3] Ibid., p. 414.

[4] For instance, we find by the official report on emigration, that in 1823, 10,300 voluntary emigrants left Ireland; 3d Report, p. 110. That about 10,000 go annually to Canada; p. 120. That the number of British subjects who emigrated to New York only, directly or indirectly, was, in 1824, 6,378 (we are informed, however, in another part of the same Report, that 7,500 went from Ireland only that year, p. 110); in 1825, 9,461; and in 1826, 10,531.—3d Emigration Report, p. 474. That "emigration is increasing, especially to New York and Philadelphia," p. 223. From the latter place, however, we have no direct report whatever.

that of its termination, it would be obviously a most imperfect method of arriving at the general amount, to sum up the isolated numbers which at some particular date or occasion have happened to be recorded; even were our possession of such information less imperfect than it necessarily is. It is true that we have inserted notices of emigrations amounting to thousands, tens of thousands, and even hundreds of thousands; but their total, I must repeat, falls far short of those constant and unnoticed accessions which the population of America has daily received. For instance, it is said that the French emigrants who had reached the United States amounted, in 1817, to thirty thousand[1]; whereas I doubt whether we shall find that the total of all the emigrations from France which are recorded through the whole of the accounts preceding that year amount to a thirtieth part of that number. In the presence of these facts, were we to call upon those who have denied the material influence of emigration on the population of America to fix upon its gross amount during only a century past, it is quite impossible but that it must be one of such a magnitude as to derange the whole of their calculations and deductions. They have, indeed, made admissions that will be attended to hereafter, and which, though far beneath the truth, are nevertheless quite ample enough to produce the effect which they attribute to procreation only.

(15) Before closing these imperfect collections on the subject, I may remark that the extent and effects of emigration have not been left to be recorded by the historian only: they have been immortalized in the pathetic strains of the poet of Ireland, and by an equally distinguished genius of the North, whom I particu-

[1] Monthly Mag., vol. lxxxvii., p. 75.

larise amongst multitudes, as being conversant with the scenes which they describe, and which, in their glowing language, can never die. But the universal literature of the country, of every class and description, during the whole period embraced, bears testimony to the fact at issue. In every possible variety of phrase, though with the utmost unanimity of meaning, they speak of the spirit of emigration [1], the rage of emigration [2], fashion of emigration [3], prodigiousness of emigration [4], alarming emigration [5], contagion of emigration [6], fever of emigration [7], epidemic fury of emigration [8], incessant stream of emigration [9], torrent of emigration [10], vast tide of emigration flowing from all parts of Europe to the United States of America [11]:— expressions which, to have any truth or meaning at all, must imply a deportation to so vast an extent as must affect the greater mass of inhabitants whence it has proceeded, and most unquestionably in a still higher degree the smaller number to which it is added. Both these circumstances, however, are denied: with regard to the latter, it will be shewn, if further proof be yet necessary, how erroneously; as it regards the former, it fully comports with the theory of population that has to be developed, to believe that under ordinary circumstances the vacancy would by a law of Nature be ultimately supplied. I cannot, however, but think that the pause, not to say retrogression, which evidently occurred in the movements of the population of this country, in the earlier part of the last

[1] Chalmers, Polit. Ann., p. 644, &c.
[2] Sir J. Sinclair, Scotland, vol. i., p. 489; vol. x., p. 62—324, &c.
[3] Simond, Switzerland, vol. i., p. 272.
[4] Monthly Magazine, vol. liii., p. 233. Grece, Facts and Observations, p. 1.
[5] Dupin, Commercial Power of Great Britain, vol. ii., p. 190.
[6] Sinclair, Scotland, vol. xiii., p. 318.
[7] Dr. Johnson, Tour to the Hebrides.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Coxe, View of the United States, p. 202.
[10] Holmes, Account of the United States, p. 124.
[11] Wentworth, New South Wales, pref.

century, was mainly attributable to the too great drains which the plantations, as well as other causes, had made upon the inhabitants during the preceding one. I am aware that the anti-populationists assert to the contrary, and conceive they prove their point, when, denying that the excessive deportations from Spain to her South American colonies have nearly depopulated and ruined that country, they state that the outports are still the most active and best peopled parts of that monarchy. This, I think, is a most inconclusive argument; were I draining a pool, the last part of it which would be either dry or stagnant, would be the sluice by which it was emptied.

(16) But to return. Where the population of the places from whence this vast emigration has been partly supplied, was in a situation which, according to the true theory of human increase, would prevent it from recovering its numbers, there we find that it left those chasms which are still unsupplied: an instance or two of which, as a not indirect proof of the great extent to which emigration has proceeded, shall close this branch of the argument.

(17) We have particularly noticed emigrations, from time to time, from the Palatinate of Germany; a territory of small extent, and therefore well calculated to exhibit the argument as Mr. Malthus sometimes wishes to present it, namely, on a confined and limited scale. Did these desertions cause any vacuums? Hear what Este says. He describes the causes which had led to them, and adds, that "they have driven away one half of the people into emigration." Some years since, the palatinate produced 500,000 people. They are now computed at 200,000 or 240,000. In Manheim the decrease has been less, viz. from 25,000 to 22,000. These emigrations have been to Pennsyl-

vania, where, from the influx of such strangers, every sign and shop board is underwritten in German[1]: a fact which Mr. Wanley confirms from personal observation[2]. Cologne, Este observes also, was equally thinned by emigration[3]. Dr. Render, in his "Tour in Germany," bears witness to the same facts, when speaking of the almost incredible number of emigrants thence[4]. For further information on the same subject, I must refer to "Furstenwarther's Deutscher in Nord Amerika," written expressly on this subject, with whose authority I will conclude.

(18) Enough, I think, has been said to render the remaining part of the argument on this point almost superfluous: it was, however, written first; and though, as now presented, it will be greatly abridged, still I was perhaps too unwilling to sacrifice it altogether.

[1] Este, Journey through Flanders, Germany, &c., p. 338.
[2] Wanley, Journal, &c., p. 184.
[3] Este, Journey, &c., p. 177.
[4] Dr. Render, Tour in Germany, vol. i., p. 176.

CHAPTER VII.

OF EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA, PROVED BY ITS EFFECTS ON THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, AND LANGUAGE OF THE COMMUNITY.

(1) We now proceed to prove, still more fully, the vast and continued emigration from Europe to America, by its effects on the manners, habits, and structure of society, not only in those newer States which it has created, but in those older provinces which once constituted the colonies of England. Previously to doing this, it may not be superfluous to present a description of the original construction of American population, taken from two or three of its own writers, and those not amongst the least enthusiastic eulogists of their country.

(2) "New England," says Bristed, "was settled "altogether by Englishmen, excepting an Irish colony "in Massachusetts, and a few Scottish and Irish set- "tlements in New Hampshire. With these limitations, "the New England population is, at this hour, "entirely of English origin. The same source also "supplies a great majority of the people of the mid- "dle, and a still larger proportion in the southern "States. The Germans make about a fourth of the "province of Pennsylvania, and a part of the inha- "bitants of New York and New Jersey. They are, "however, fast yielding their language, habits, and "customs to the predominance of the English. The "same may be said of the Dutch settled in New York,

"New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. A few French Pro-
"testants fixed themselves at New Rochelle and Staten
"Island, in the State of New York, and at Charleston,
"in South Carolina. The Irish emigrants are found
"principally in Pennsylvania and Maryland, and
"many are scattered over New York, New Jersey,
"Kentucky, and some other States. Those who are
"Catholics, from the middle and south of Ireland,
"compose the bulk of our day-labourers in our large
"cities." (And still how few and trifling were the notices of any emigration whatever from any part of Ireland, excepting the north!) "The Protestants from
"the north of Ireland generally become agriculturists
"in the country; the Scotch, who are, for the most
"part, intelligent, industrious, good citizens, have
"settlements in New Hampshire, New York, New
"Jersey, Pennsylvania, and North Carolina. Some
"Swedes are found in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and
"Maryland; and some Swiss have fixed their abode
"in Indiana. Some small Welsh settlements have
"been made in Pennsylvania and New York[1]." Coxe says, "Our population has been derived from England,
"Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Germany, the United
"Netherlands, Sweden, France, and a few from se-
"veral other countries[2]." "The emigrants hither," he adds, "have been, generally speaking, the enter-
"prising and their followers, or the oppressed subjects
"of unjust civil or religious rulers. Presbyterians,
"Congregationalists, Quakers, Baptists, and others,
"have fled from England; Seceders and Episcopalians
"from Scotland; Catholics and Presbyterians from
"Ireland; Hugonots from France; Protestants from
"the dominions of the Catholic princes of Germany,

[1] Bristed, America and her Resources. [2] Coxe, View of the United States, p. 202.

" and Catholics from those of the Protestant princes[1]." In a word, he says that the United States have become " the colony of all Europe[2]." Beaujour gives a still more comprehensive description of the population, which he says, is " a mixture of all the people of the earth[3]."

(3) Thus is it that all the countries of the world, or, at least, of Christendom, have furnished their quota to this great and incessant migration to the new continent; the inhabitants of which, however, Weld says, principally " consist of English, Irish, Scotch, Ger- " man, French, and American-born citizens descended " from people of these different nations, who are, " of course, by far the most numerous CLASS[4]." Doubtless: but what a proof is this of the general position, the immensity of emigration, if the natives of the country are still designated as a *class!*

(4) Here, then, is the reason of the rapid increase of American population. A nucleus, if I may so express myself, of every European nation, formed there by the original structure of its society, each of which, being perpetually augmented, not only by natural increase, but by kindred accessions from their mother-countries, accounts for a fact, which, indeed, was never doubted, and which admits of no other rational interpretation. Hence Dr. Morse observes, that the population is rapidly increasing, not by natural population only, but " by emigrations from Europe," and that it is consequently " composed of people of all " nations, languages, characters, and religions. The " greatest part, however," he observes, " are descended " from the English, who, for the sake of distinction, " are called Anglo-Americans[5]." But this distinction, and the necessity for it, are, at once, the most decisive

[1] Coxe, View of the United States, p. 202.
[2] Ibid., p. 506.
[3] Beaujour, Sketch of the United States, p. 72.
[4] Weld, Travels through America, p. 12.
[5] Morse, Geog., p. 63.

evidence of the prevalence and effect of emigration. In a word, the rapid growth of the population of the United States constitutes of itself a decisive evidence of these numerous accessions: it is caused, as Coxe says, "by migrations to our country, and the "non-existence of emigration from it[1]."

(5) The extent of emigration may therefore be known by the rapidity of the increase in those States to which it has been principally directed, and this increase will be accompanied by corresponding effects on the manners and habits of their population; at least, if the accessions are furnished in any considerable degree from nations of foreign origin and dissimilar habits. And, in this view of the question, two observations are highly important: first, emigrations from the mother-country, the British empire, must, in this respect, pass unnoticed, as the manners, habits, and language of those who compose them are already assimilated to those established in the country to which they proceed: second, such is the tendency of society, when closely and permanently associated, to settle speedily into a general uniformity in those respects, that that emigration must be vast indeed, which can dislocate the usages of the community, and disturb the current of customs generally established. But I will present this important consideration in other language than my own, namely, that which will add to the conclusion the authority of Dr. Morse. He says, "It is natural for emigrants to a settlement "to adopt the customs of the original inhabitants, "even though the emigrants should, in a length of "time, become the most numerous[2]." Bearing these observations in mind, let us take a short view of the state of society in North America, when, I think, it

[1] Coxe, View of the United States, p. 201.

[2] Dr. Morse, Geog., p. 253.

will be seen that emigration has, generally speaking, produced a striking effect upon its character, and, consequently, a still greater one upon its increase.

(6) And, first, the States of New England, having ceased to be those to which emigrants mainly resort, and, indeed, never having been those to which settlers not British, have repaired, retain, as we should expect them to do under such circumstances, much of their primitive character[1]. But then, confirmatory of the principle which we are advancing, their growth has been, especially of late, proportionably, and, indeed, exceedingly slow. New Hampshire has, with the exception of Maine, taken the lead in this increase, (the ratio of which, however, is rapidly diminishing); but for the reason stated by Warden, namely, "emigration from the neighbouring States, "and from the different countries in Europe[2]." Regarding the latter district, the only one which exhibits a great, but still a lessening, rate of increase, we are informed, concerning the inhabitants, that "their "manners are changed," partly from "the intermix- "ture of emigrants of every description[3]": an influx which still continues to such an extent, as to render it "difficult to draw any conclusions, from the increase "of population, concerning the healthiness of the "climate[4]."

(7) Of all the old States of the American confederation, Georgia is, at present, exhibiting the greatest increase; still, I must remark, that that increase is decennially diminishing, especially since Dr. Morse said, that it was conjectured that emigrations from Europe and the northern States had more than tripled

[1] See Dr. Dwight's Travels, passim.
[2] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. i., p. 383.
[3] Ibid., vol. i., p. 361.
[4] Ibid., vol. i., p. 360.

the inhabitants within the last six years[1]. Regarding their character, therefore, he observes, that no general description will apply. "Collected from different parts of the world, as interest, necessity, or "inclination led them, their manners must, of course, "partake of all the varieties which distinguish the "several states and kingdoms from whence they "came. There is so little uniformity, that it is "difficult to trace any governing principle among "them[2]."

(8) New York, which has also greatly abated in the rapidity of its increase, is, however, multiplying the most rapidly of any old State in the Union, next to Georgia. It has, consequently, a population composed of emigrants, and their descendants, from every country in Europe[3]. Hence, as Dr. Morse observes, "the manners of the people differ as well as their language[4]." Dr. Dwight, also, after describing the inhabitants as consisting of New Englanders, Dutch, Scotch, Irish, German, English, and French colonists, and their progeny, says, "It is impossible to ascribe "to these numerous classes a common character[5]." But it is surely unnecessary to give proofs of the immense emigrations which are perpetually proceeding to this State of the Union.

(9) The same may be also observed respecting Pennsylvania; its increase is, in like manner, diminishing, but is still great. Hence Warden says, "that "the origin of the population is too recent to allow "any thing like uniformity of manners and habits[6]." It is of English, Irish, German, Scotch, Dutch, Swiss,

[1] Morse, Geog.
[2] Ibid., p. 450.
[3] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. i., p. 500. See the whole paragraph. Also, Carey and Lea's Geog., &c. of America, p. 39.
[4] Morse, Geog., p. 251.
[5] Dr. Dwight, Travels, vol. iii., p. 509.
[6] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. ii., p. 97.

Finlandish, and Danish extraction. "A proportionate "assemblage, therefore, of the national prejudices, the "manners, customs, religion, and political sentiments "of all these," Dr. Morse observes, "will form the "Pennsylvanian character[1]." The first emigrants were about 2000 Nonconformists from London, Liverpool, and Bristol; and their descendants generally occupy the eastern counties. The Irish and their offspring are found every where throughout the State. The Germans also are much dispersed. The latter, Morse reckons to compose one quarter, if not one third, of the inhabitants of this great and populous State[2]. Warden computes them at above one third, and, consequently, between 300,000 and 400,000[3]. I do not mean to contend that the whole of that number were actually born in Germany, though, doubtless, many of them were, as, indeed, Morse asserts[4]; but it is undeniably certain, that the addition they have recently made to the population is attributable to emigration. M. von Furstenwarther, alluding to the multitudes of his countrymen in this part of the Union, clearly refers to the late accessions only; as he says that, from the general odium they labour under, the "children of the Germans are ashamed of their "parentage, and in the third generation all traces of "their country disappear[5]." We may judge, therefore, of the number of native Germans in this province alone, when under such circumstances; and although the official use of their language is interdicted, and notwithstanding the poverty and ignorance[6] of the class which usually emigrates, out of the eighty-four newspapers lately published in that province, nineteen

[1] Morse, Geog., p. 419.
[2] Ibid., p. 419.
[3] Warden, Stat. Acc. of U. States.
[4] Morse, Geog., p. 419.
[5] Furstenwarther, Der Deutsche in N. Amerika.
[6] "The body of them want education." Morse, Geog., p. 429.

of them were in the German[1]; and it is said that they have usually fifteen of the sixty-nine members who compose the assembly[2]. The Irish also are exceedingly numerous in this state. But to continue the proof of emigration to what is denominated by Dr. Rush the outport of Europe[3], is certainly superfluous.

(10) The increase of South Carolina, since emigration has no longer proceeded to that state with so great and perpetual an influx, has become so much reduced as to render it unnecessary to speak much concerning it. Dr. Morse attributes it exclusively to emigration, at least he mentions no other cause[4]. Its progress, however, was formerly far more rapid; and the history of its population during that period not only explains that circumstance, but presents at the same time a picture of a state of things which, with very few alterations, might be alternately transferred to almost every State in the Union. Dr. Ramsey, its member in Congress, thus gives it: "The first settle-
" ment of the province was made in the year 1669, on
" the neck of land between the Ashley and Cooper
" rivers, by a few adventurers who embarked from Eng-
" land in two vessels. The subsequent settlers were
" a medley of different nations, and composed of the
" most contradictory characters. From England the
" colony received both the friends of Parliament and
" the adherents of the Royal Family. The servants
" of the crown, from motives of policy, encouraged
" the emigration of the former, and grants of land
" were freely bestowed upon the latter, as a reward of
" their loyalty. A considerable number of French
" protestants, after the revocation of the Edict of
" Nantes, found an asylum in South Carolina, and be-

[1] Carey and Lea, Geog. and Statist., p. 168.
[2] Morse, Geog., p. 429.
[3] Dr. Rush, Maude. Phil. Trans., vol. iii., p. 183.
[4] Morse, Geog., p. 550.

" came very useful inhabitants. Many of the Dutch " colonists, dissatisfied with the situation of New York " after the submission of that colony to the crown of " England, repaired thither, and contributed much by " their industry to the cultivation of the province. " The success that attended them induced more of " their countrymen to follow their example. An Irish " settlement was placed near Santee, between the " year 1730 and 1740, to which was given the name " of Williamsburg township. In the same period se- " veral families of Switzers settled on the north-east " side of the Savannah river, under the auspices of " their countryman, John Peter Pury. From this " gentleman the valley of Purysburg took its name. " From 1748 to 1755, great numbers of Palatines were " introduced; they settled Orangeburg, Congaree, " and Wateree. After the battle of Culloden a num- " ber of the vanquished Highlanders were transported " to South Carolina. But the most considerable " era of population was after the peace of Paris in " 1763. Soon after that event, the assembly of the " colony appropriated a large fund for bounties to " foreign protestants, who should settle in the interior " parts. In consequence of this encouragement many " arrived from Europe, particularly from Ireland. " Great numbers also migrated from Virginia, Penn- " sylvania," (which was itself receiving immense acces- sions of foreign inhabitants,) " and the other northern " provinces. From these various sources of popula- " tion, settlements were made in ten years after the " peace of Paris, one hundred and fifty miles west- " ward, beyond all that had taken place in the pre- " ceding hundred years[1]." Such has been the pro- gress of population in South Carolina; and of pre-

[1] Dr. Ramsay, Hist. Rev. of South Carolina, pp. 3, 4, 5.

cisely the same nature, however varied in circumstances, has been that of all the other states.

(11) North Carolina is inhabited, in its western parts, chiefly by emigrants from Ireland[1]. This state also did exhibit a very rapid increase of population, concerning which Dr. Morse has some speculations which have completely forestalled the notions of "the philosophers of Europe on the same subject[2]." Time has, however, so soon and so thoroughly refuted his ideas, even while he was wording them, that further observations are unnecessary. The population of North Carolina, still possessing the almost unrivalled advantages on which he dilates, instead of increasing so as to double itself every fifteen years, would, with all the extensive migrations to that province which he himself records, take half a century for that purpose[3].

(12) Respecting New Jersey, the decennial increase of which had, at the last census, fallen to thirteen per cent., it may be also asserted, that very much of its former increase has been solely attributable to emigration. Mr. Warden observes, that the population being composed of Hollanders, Germans, Scotch, Irish, and emigrants from the New England States, or their descendants, has no uniform character[4]. The American geographer, in like manner, says, that "many circumstances concur to make the "character, manners, and customs, various in dif-"ferent parts of the State. The inhabitants," says he, "are a collection of Low Dutch, Germans, English, "Scotch, Irish, and New-Englanders, or their descend-"ants." I refer to the remainder of the passage for the effect produced by this admixture in the numerous peculiarities in manners, customs, character, religion,

[1] Warden, Statist. Account of the United States, vol. ii., p. 373.
[2] Morse, Geog., pp. 523, 524.
[3] Ibid., p. 523.
[4] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. ii., p. 373.

and even dress[1]. Mr. Malthus, having rivetted our attention to this State, as the one which doubled itself in twenty-two years, by procreation only, and, consequently, independent of emigration, one is curious to learn a reason why, since these numerous foreign accessions have been added, the population only advances, at present, after a rate that would not double its numbers in half a century?

(13) Virginia is, perhaps, latterly at least, less indebted to emigration than most of the States in the Union; though there are colonies of Scotch, Irish, and even French, in the province[2]: indeed, we are assured, upon unquestionable authority, that the frontier counties were principally settled by Irish presbyterians[3]; and it is also said, that most of the commercial men in the State were emigrants[4]. Still, however, recent emigration has probably contributed less to the population than in most other parts of America; and the inhabitants, therefore, preserve, generally speaking, their original character[5]. But, then, the increase in their numbers is proportionably slow, and also declining. At the present rate, they would not double in less than fourscore years, which would demand centuries of time before the population would be sufficiently augmented to develop, in any degree, the resources of the country.

(14) Maryland, too, exhibits but an inconsiderable increase. But even that increase is far from being attributable to "procreation only." On the contrary, though it was first settled by Roman Catholics[6], and has since had large emigrations of that persuasion, at present it abounds with all religious professions[7].

[1] Morse, Geog., p. 412.
[2] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. ii., p. 186.
[3] Dr. Douglas, Summary, vol. ii., p. 380.
[4] Morse, Geog., p. 498.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Chalmers, Polit. Annals, p. 207.
[7] Morse, Geog., p. 470.

With respect to character, therefore, to use the words of Dr. Morse, as "the inhabitants are made up of "various nations of many different religious senti- "ments, few general observations would apply[1]." According to the present rate of increase, the inhabitants would not double in one hundred years; to whatever cause, whether resolvable into the climate or state of the country, so inadequate an increase is to be attributed.

(15) Delaware, lastly, is actually stationary in its numbers. I find, therefore, few accounts of emigrations to that State; and though I should certainly attribute this strange state of the population to numerous migrations, I meet with few, indeed not any, notices of this kind. Occupying, as it does, so large a proportion, for its extent, of the coast of a great shipping country, possessing also several manufactories[2], and, above all, "a very fertile tract of country, so that "scarcely any part of the Union can be selected more "adapted to the different purposes of agriculture, or "in which a greater variety of the most useful produc- "tions can be conveniently and plentifully reared[3];" the difficulty of accounting for so stagnant a state of population is great, and much more important to the argument than speculations about the operation of the checks in Nova Zembla or Kamtschatka[4]. After some consideration of the subject, I ám reluctantly compelled to adopt the conclusion, that the climate of the United States, or, at least, of the southern parts, is not very favourable to population from "procreation only," beyond a certain point, at least so far as the European variety of human beings is concerned. But I shall not unnecessarily encumber the argument with

[1] Morse, Geog., p. 467.
[2] Ibid., p. 452.
[3] Ibid., p. 450.
[4] Malthus, Essay on Population, b. i., c. 9.

the reasons for an opinion not essentially connected with it, and concerning the correctness of which, time alone can determine.

(16) To return, therefore. Let us now advert to another, and a still more striking proof of the prevalence of emigration which the new States and territories of the Union afford, and which only present the very same facts, under different forms and proportions, which the older settlements exhibited at their first establishment; namely, the early foundation and rapid increase of colonies, to which a succession of emigrations, consisting of individuals, principally in the prime of life, are perpetually repairing. In many of the newer States and territories of America, the canonical ratio of human increase is greatly outstripped; some of them doubling their original number many times over in the first ten years, as, doubtless, the first colonies did when the original settlers were proceeding to establish themselves in the country.

(17) In proceeding to consider the effects of emigration in rapidly peopling these recently established states, it is readily admitted, that part of that emigration consists of migrations from the older settlements of the Union, otherwise the slow rate of increase in some of the latter would be perfectly unaccountable. But it has been seen that no inconsiderable part of the population of most of the States, which have sent forth these recruits, is itself the result of recent foreign emigration. Still a very considerable proportion of the great and rapid increase which has taken place in these new provinces, is plainly attributable to direct emigration from almost every part of Europe, and it is to the latter fact the reader's attention is about to be principally directed.

(18) Louisiana presents itself to our consideration,

as a first instance, the population in this State having increased, in ten years, more than 600 per cent. This increase, and all others of a similar nature, it is obvious, can have been derived from emigration only, had we no information whatever upon the subject; but Carey and Lea describe the State thus: "the popu- "lation is principally confined to the settlements on "the immediate banks of the Mississippi, above and "below New Orleans. In the distance of more than "100 miles along this river, the banks present the "appearance of a continued village. In the upper "settlements, the inhabitants are principally Cana- "dians; in the middle, Germans; and in the lower, "French and Spaniards[1]." Warden says the inhabitants are composed of men of every country in Europe[2].

(19) Of Indiana, the increase in which, from 1810 to 1820, was upwards of 500 per cent., the same authorities (Americans) inform us, that "a majority "of the people are from Kentucky, Tennessee, Vir- "ginia and the Carolinas; the remainder are from "every State in the Union, and from every country "in Europe[3]."

(20) The population of Illinois, though still small, is next in the order of increase; having added above 300 per cent. to its numbers, in the period beforementioned. This territory is principally peopled by the French[4], to whom, however, numbers of emigrants have been added, both from England and the United States[5].

(21) "The great increase in the population of

[1] Carey and Lea, Geog., &c. p. 281. Warden, Statistical Acct. of the United States, vol. ii., p. 531.

[2] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. ii., p. 567.

[3] Carey and Lea, Geog., &c. p. 290.

[4] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. ii., pp. 57, 58.

[5] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 59.

"Ohio," (which contains nearly 600,000 inhabitants, and has added above 150 per cent. to its numbers in ten years,) "has been partly owing to emigrations from "the neighbouring States, and many from Europe[1]." Dr. Drake, in his interesting account of this State, says, "there is no State in the Union which has not "enriched it with some of its most enterprising citi- "zens; nor a kingdom in the west of Europe, whose "adventurous exiles are not commingled with us. "To Kentucky, and the States north of Virginia,—to "England, Ireland, Germany, Scotland, France, and "Holland, we are most indebted[2]." He speaks, again, "of the constant influx of young men from other countries[3]," and informs us, that there is an institution established for the express purpose of directing and assisting, in case of necessity, the numerous emigrants who are constantly proceeding to that State. There are two papers printed in German for the convenience of settlers of that class, though this is not the part of the Union to which they most commonly resort[4].

(22) The two thinly populated districts of Alabama and Mississippi seem to have been settled by the French[5], some of whom it appears have had considerable grants made to them, since this part of the continent was ceded to the Republic[6].

(23) Of Missouri, the authors previously quoted remark, that its original inhabitants were French and Spaniards. There are few of the latter remaining; but the former, they add, constitute a respectable proportion of the population. The French language is

[1] Carey and Lea, Geog. and Statist., p. 239.
[2] Dr. Drake, Natural and Statistical View, &c., p. 257.
[3] Ibid., p. 249.
[4] Von Furstenwarther, der Deutsche in Amerika.
[5] Carey and Lea, Geog. of America, p. 267, &c.
[6] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. iii., pp. 34, 37.

spoken in many of the settlements, almost exclusively[1]. In Arkansas, also, the inhabitants are mostly French[2].

(24) Tennessee, increased in the ten years so frequently referred to, upwards of 60 per cent., (in the previous ten it had increased 148 per cent.) "It "has, therefore," as Warden remarks, "scarcely any "uniform character, its population consisting of emi- "grants from the Carolinas, Virginia, Georgia, and "the New England States, and from Europe[3].

(25) Kentucky, whose population increased, from 1800 to 1810, nearly 84 per cent.; and from 1810 to 1820, nearly 39 per cent., a large accession, though lessened by more than one half in ten years, owes its rapid increase, also, to foreign accessions. Thus, Imlay, when speaking of emigration from Europe having long ceased to Virginia, says, "whereas, I "have known upwards of 10,000 emigrants to arrive "in the single state of Kentucky within one year, "and from 4 to 10,000[4], in several other years." "The people," says Malte-Brun, "consist of emigrants "from every State in the Union, and from every coun- "try in Europe[5]." "Collected from different States, "of different manners, customs, religions, and political "sentiments, they have not been long enough toge- "ther, to form an uniform national character[6]." In a word, they are a recent association of strangers.

(26) Such then is the effect emigration has had upon the States of the American Union generally, and especially upon those whose population has increased the most rapidly; in regard to manners, cus-

[1] Carey and Lea, Geog., &c., of America, p. 305.
[2] Ibid., p. 313.
[3] Warden, Statis. Acct. of the United States, vol. ii., p. 351.
[4] Topog. Descrip. West. Territory of North America. By Geo. Imlay, Capt. in the American Service, p. 84.
[5] Malte-Brun, Geog. l. lxxx., p. 199.
[6] Morse, Geog., p. 509.

toms, habits, religion, and even dress; nay, I ought to add, personal appearance of the people; for, as Warden observes, their physiognomy is as varied as their origin is different, English, Irish, German, French, Swiss, all retaining something of the first stamp, which belongs to their native country[1]. It is true the American government has been long averse from encouraging distinct locations of the numerous bodies of emigrants from different countries, with a view to obviate as much as possible the political inconveniences resulting from such associations; still it has not been able to succeed so fully, but that considerable masses of the emigrants occasionally keep together, or, by a sort of moral magnetism, are attracted to the districts in which their countrymen have been previously settled. Hence, in every description of that country, we perpetually meet with accounts of different districts being settled by emigrants from certain countries, and of towns also being of Irish[2], Scotch[3], German[4], French[5], Dutch[6], Swiss[7], or Spanish[8] origin.

(27) The last allusion has reminded me of another proof of the existence of a perpetual and vast emigration to the United States. Its accessions to the different States have been distinctly shewn; but those to the cities are still more conspicuous: and without vouching for the accuracy of the information, I may aver, that I never met with an individual among the many whom I have consulted as the most competent to answer my inquiries on the subject who estimated them at less than one third of the entire population of the latter. I shall instance but a very few of these places. Warden

[1] Warden, Statis. Acct. of the United States, vol. iii., p. 475.
[2] Ibid., vol. i., p. 383.
[3] Morse, Geog., p. 286.
[4] Carey and Lea, Geog. and Statis. of America, p. 166.
[5] Warden, Statis. Account, vol. i., p. 310.
[6] Carey and Lea, Geog. and Statis., p. 157.
[7] Ibid., p. 291.
[8] Ibid., p. 327.

says of the capital, Washington, so recently founded, "nearly one half of the population is of Irish origin[1]:" that the labouring class, particularly, is chiefly Irish, many of whom have no acquaintance with the English language; that they have cut the canals, made and repaired the streets, and executed most of the manual labour of the city[2]. Charleston is said to be still more indebted to foreigners for its population. Of Baltimore, Dr. Morse says, the bulk of the inhabitants have been recently collected from all quarters of the world; and adds, that they vary in their habits, manners, and their religion, "if they have any[3]." The inhabitants of Albany are "collected from all parts of the northern world[4]." As to Philadelphia it is needless to speak of the multitude of emigrants it has always contained; it has been increased to its present magnitude, as Morse says, by "the constant and regular influx of foreigners[5]." "The inhabitants," therefore, "consist," he informs us, "of emigrants from England, "Ireland, Germany, and Scotland[6]." New York, now the largest city in the Union, is peopled "by all "nations and religions[7]," and experiences a "constant change of inhabitants by emigration from "Europe[8]." It is curious to read Dr. Dwight's classification of the inhabitants of this city, arranged, as he intimates, according to their supposed numbers. "1. Emigrants from New England. 2. The original "inhabitants, partly Dutch, partly English. 3. Emi- "grants from other parts of the State. 4. Emigrants "from Ireland. 5. Emigrants from New Jersey. "6. Emigrants from Scotland. 7. Emigrants from "Germany. 8. Emigrants from England. 9. Emi-

[1] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. iii., p. 192.
[2] Ibid., p. 192.
[3] Morse, Geog., p. 468.
[4] Ibid., p. 258.
[5] Ibid., p. 432.
[6] Ibid., p. 312.
[7] Ibid., p. 253.
[8] Ibid., p. 257.

" grants from France. 10. Emigrants from Holland. " 11. Jews. To these," he says, " are to be added a " few Swedes, Danes, Italians, Portuguese, Spaniards, " and West Indians. The children born of emigrants " are numerous. Among so many sorts of persons " you will easily believe it must be difficult, if not " impossible, to find a common character[1]." The other cities of America might all be brought forward in this argument, especially those in the New States; but I shall mention only one more, and that the oldest considerable city in the Union, and the capital of the New England States, to which we are assured so often no emigration is at present known to proceed; I mean Boston. Dr. Morse informs us, that one third of its inhabitants are strangers and fugitive persons.

(28) I said I should only add the instance of Boston; but an account has just come under my notice of another city which I will also mention, inasmuch as in its census the foreigners are discriminated, the only case of the kind I have hitherto met with in any district or town in the United States: it is the city of Pittsburg, a place, that as far as I can learn, has no claims whatever to the particular preference, or even notice, of emigrants, more especially when compared with the larger cities of the Union. It had, in 1826, 10,515 inhabitants, of whom 2303 were foreigners[2]; at least half the whole number of the adults.

(29) But to return to the general argument. Such has been the vastness of this emigration, that even when it has been generally distributed, they have, in its several ramifications, carried, as we have seen, diversity and confusion into the very elements of the

[1] Dr. Dwight, Trans., vol. iii., p. 439. July, 1826.—See Bul. Univer., vol. viii.,
[2] New York Inquirer, 10 and 13 p. 54.

social system. Not only has it varied the characters, manners, customs, and religions of the community, but it has created a dissonance in its very language, (though that is the first thing in which human beings, when closely associated, necessarily and anxiously assimilate,) so that in large tracts of country foreign languages are alone spoken or understood[1]. Happily for the American community, not only the first, but the greatest accessions of inhabitants have proceeded from these shores, and have consequently carried their language with them, and permanently established it. Still, as Coxe remarks, "the German, the Dutch, and the French, are spoken by "large bodies of the citizens[2]," a fact which Morse also mentions; where he says, "intermingled with "the Anglo-Americans are the Dutch, Scotch, Irish, "French, German, Swedes, and Jews; all of whom, "except the Scotch and Irish, retain, in a greater or "less degree, their native language, in which they "perform their public worship, and converse, and "transact their business with each other[3]." But the confusion of languages, which we are taught to believe caused the dissolution of one of the greatest accociations in the ancient world, has not interrupted the progress of this immense social structure in the new. May the latter, as it did not originate in the impiety, never share the fate of the prototype of all political confusion, in its disunion and destruction!

(30) Such then are the consequences of the recent emigration which has poured from all parts of Europe into the states and territories of the great American republic. Effects so striking and universal prove the existence of a cause, which, according to the reasoning

[1] Hall, Travels in North America, 456.
[2] Coxe View of the United States, p. 101.
[3] Morse, Geog., p. 68.

of Dr. Morse, already quoted[1], must have been vast and continued indeed, to have been adequate to their production. "The time is, indeed, anticipated," says the same excellent writer, "when the language, man-"ners, customs, and political and religious sentiments "of this mixed mass of people who inhabit the United "States shall have become so assimilated, as that all "nominal distinctions shall be lost in the general and "honourable name of American[2]." In the mean time, this very prophecy amounts to a full and unequivocal proof, that emigration has had a most material influence on the character (and how much more so on the numbers!) of the population of the United States.

[1] See page 476. [2] Morse, Geog., p. 68.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA: PROVED BY SUNDRY STATISTICAL FACTS AND RECORDS.

(1) THE preceding parts of our present inquiry have, it is conceived, already established the fact of a vast and continuous emigration to America, but still the precise proportion of that emigration, compared with the entire population, has, in great measure, eluded our research. Of that proportion, however, it is necessary to the question to have as accurate an idea as possible, and we must therefore pursue the subject, though it is wearisome to persevere in calculating, from a number of unconnected and incidental facts, results which, by a certain and customary process, might have been at once ascertained. Had the American legislature willed it, their four last censuses might have included a column containing the number of citizens natives of other countries; that would have settled the question, and it would have been, at least, as easy a matter to have done so, as to have presented us with the exact number of males between 16 and 18 years of age, the motive for doing which no scientific man can possibly divine. The omission is now, however, irreparable; so much nationality and spurious patriotism would be mixed up with the inquiry, were it now instituted, that however honest the intentions of the supreme government might be, its subordinate agents could no longer be fully depended upon. The reason is obvious: "the Americans," as a writer before

quoted observes, "either from principle and convic-
" tion, or from national pride, have, or affect to have,
" throughout the Union, a great indifference towards
" foreign emigration, and appear to think that, even
" without this aid, the population of the United States
" increases rapidly enough." But notwithstanding all this professed indifference, like many others who know the difference between an ostentatious avowal of public principles and a constant adherence to a more interested course of practice, they continue to give greater facilities to naturalization than any country in the world; nay, even in the capital of their empire, they place the foreign emigrant upon a better footing than the native citizen; Congress not only "having wisely permitted foreigners, not citizens, " to hold lands within the territory, which," says my American authority, "must powerfully contribute to " its population and improvement; but having passed " a law, whereby foreign tradesmen, artificers, and ma-
" nufacturers, having taken the oath of citizenship, are " free, even from taxes, for five years[1]."

(2) In the foregoing chapter, the existence and extent of emigration to the United States has been shown by its striking effects upon the manners, customs, habits, religion, language, and even physiognomy of the population. Were it necessary to continue this description of proofs, I might appeal to the geographical etymology of the country, which will probably bear witness to the same facts, to the remotest generations. That the topographical terms of the old world are transmitted to the new is a fact, as it respects every nation in Europe, but more especially England, whose constant and paramount accessions would have been, in great measure, merged and lost in the population of

[1] Warden's Statistical Account of the United States, vol. iii., p. 192.

the kindred country, had it not been for these accidental memorials. "Thus," as Volney observes, "the "geographical nomenclature of America abounds with "names borrowed from Europe, because every settler, "English, Scotch, or Irish, gives to his new abode "the name of the place of his nativity; and it may be "said, in more respects than one, that the United "States are a second edition of England, only upon a "larger size." "This," he adds, "will be better seen "a hundred years hence[1]."

(3) The above observations, however, do not convey any very definite idea of the proportion of emigration to the present population; nor do the degrees in which different European languages are said to prevail in various parts of the Union, or the number of books and newspapers that are published in each tongue[2]. Mr. Coxe, indeed, and others, have given us some interesting calculations on these heads, but they lead to no very certain conclusions[3]. The same judicious writer presents us, however, with facts of a somewhat more tangible form; when, repelling the accusation against his countrymen generally, that they were illiberal and jealous regarding the political influence of the naturalized, but not native, citizens, he thus replies to Lord Sheffield, who, it appears, had advanced that charge. "In the legislature of this very State," says he, "there were, at the time of his Lordship's "publication, no less than twenty-eight Irishmen, and "the sons of Irishmen, though the whole body con-"sisted but of sixty-nine members. And as some "pains have been taken," he continues, "to excite "the apprehensions of the Germans also, it may not

[1] Volney, View of the United States, p. 360. Furstenwarther, der Deutsche, &c.

[2] Coxe, View of the United States. Carey and Lea, Geog., &c., p. 168.

[3] Coxe, View, &c.

" be improper to observe, that there have been gene-
" rally from fifteen to eighteen members of the le-
" gislative body who were natives of Germany[1]." So that there were a great majority of such persons in that important station, notwithstanding that there were then, and still are, certain obstacles to be surmounted before they are eligible. It has already been mentioned, in reference to another State, that even a century before, the French had become so numerous as to have six representatives in its Assembly[2]. Other calculations, of a similar kind, I have not met with; and in applying these instances to the question, it must be recollected, that they seem to be invariably made without reference to the English, who, it should appear, are, in all such cases, regarded as Anglo-Americans.

(4) In pursuing a little further this incidental method of proof, not the less satisfactory because always necessarily impartial, I shall present a few other simple facts, without attempting either to multiply or arrange them. We have seen at how low an amount emigration is at present attempted to be rated, and that, as it respects the New England States in particular, it is strenuously denied that it has existed at all for above a century and a half past; still, the very same spirit, national vanity, pardonable, perhaps, if confined within reasonable limits, when its object is to exalt the country and its character, can overrate these emigrations as egregiously as it had previously underrated them. Thus, in the most thickly populated State of New England, and, indeed, of the whole Union, Massachusetts, we are told, that nineteen-twentieths of the prisoners are "foreigners[3];"

[1] Coxe, View, &c., p. 204.
[2] Hist. of South Carolina, p. 111.
[3] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. i., p. 304.

and respecting the State of New York, the same authority informs us, that from 1797 to 1801, inclusive, 693 convicts entered the state prison, of whom 290, or above two-fifths, were foreigners[1].

(5) In the statistics of poverty also, as well as in those of crime, we are favoured with the same classification. Thus Warden, who represents the paupers in the United States as exceedingly few, adds, that a large proportion of them are foreigners and worn-out negroes[2]. This is hardly credible of a class which consists generally of the enterprising and the industrious, many in which carry competent capitals with them, and settle as cultivators in almost every part of the Union. But, as the philosopher of that country observed long ago, there will be no nation existing in which there will not be poverty[3]; and he said this in reference to America, which, we know, is far from being an exception to that universal rule[4]. But, whatever be the proportion of indigence in that country, if a large part of the white paupers are foreigners, it clearly indicates the whole number of emigrants to be proportionably great.

(6) Mr. Warden's representation is, however, a pleasing mistake. We find Mr. Bristed asserting a proportion of pauperism as existing in New York, which we should deem immense in this country[5]; and Dr. Dwight gives us the rate of expense incurred by its support, at a much less distressing period, namely, in 1811, when it amounted, in New York only, notwithstanding the cheapness of provisions and the plenty of profitable employment, to 154,388 dollars 88

[1] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. i., p. 515.
[2] Ibid., vol. i., Introduction, p. li.
[3] Franklin, Works, vol. ii., p. 145.
[4] Ibid., p. 145. Dwight, Travels, vol. ii., pp. 455, 456.
[5] Dwight, Travels, vol. ii., p. 455.

cents.[1]! This, however, is wide of our present inquiry; but the following discrimination of the paupers in the alms-house, on the 1st of April, 1813, is a highly important document as it respects the present argument.

"Paupers admitted into the House from the 1st of April, 1812, to the 1st of April, 1813 2,814

Discharged . .	1,316	
Died . . .	233	
Total discharged and died . . .		1,549
Remaining in the House, April 1, 1813		1,265

Their places of Birth are as follow:—

City of New York . . .	624	
State of Ditto	78	831
United States	129	
England	82	
Scotland	37	
Ireland	246	
Germany	43	434
France	9	
Africa	9	
West Indies	8	
	1265	

But, of these 1265, we are informed that 545 were children, of whom we may be certain very few were born abroad: the adults were, therefore, most certainly, at least half of them foreigners[2].

(7) But, if these proofs, deduced from pauperism and the population of large cities, be objected to, as we are aware they will, let us turn to those which property and possessions in the country parts furnish. True it is, that the mere statistics of districts where, perhaps, there is not a human being in a mile, would be difficult to collect, and very meagre if we possessed

[1] Bristed, America and its Resources, p. 288.

[2] Dwight, Travels in New England and New York, vol. ii., p. 455.

them; but we can arrive at a safe conclusion by a very unobjectionable process. The unsettled parts of America consist, principally, of public lands, as they are termed, which are constantly on sale. Of these, says Coxe, six millions five hundred thousand acres have been purchased by *foreigners* within the last two years[1]. (1793.) Let the reader refer to the total amount of the sales since the establishment of the "land-office," as given by Dr. Seybert[2], and he will be able to determine whether emigration is "immaterial" or not. Since the opening of this office in 1800, to 1817, the amount of the entire sales was 10,197,764 acres, but how much of this has been purchased by European capital, is not hinted. Perhaps, as the purchasers are no longer distinguished, we shall be soon assured that the chapmen are citizens by procreation only, which will be just as true as those assertions which attribute the increase in the population of all those districts exclusively to that source.

(8) In still pursuing this method of incidental proof, we may appeal to the record of fatal accidents; I mean such as, agreeably to the English practice, come under the cognizance of the coroner, without any possible objection being urged against the fairness of such a criterion. The rich and the poor are equally liable to these fatal catastrophes; and as to that class of them which are self-perpetrated, the former furnish, proportionably, far the largest number. I accidentally took up a newspaper in which these were inserted, and the following is a copy of the account:—

"*Coroner's Office, New York, July* 25, 1825.

"The list, specifying names and cases, the Coroner was called upon to examine since the 16th instant:—

[1] Coxe, View, &c., p. 153.

[2] Seybert, Statistical Annals, pp. 364, 368.

"10 Natives,
24 Irish,
1 West Indian,
11 English,
3 Scotch,
1 Italian."

How miraculously favoured a race must the "natives" be, supposing that these and similar accounts, and their confident opinion regarding the trifling number of foreigners amongst them, should both be true! Lunacy alone would attempt to reconcile them.

(9) The records of mortality, wherever the facts at issue are specified, exhibit the same result. Thus, when the yellow fever broke out in New York, we are informed, that out of 800 persons who died, not more than 150 were citizens of New York[1]. I see an account, given in the Literary Gazette, of the ravages of the same disorder in Charleston. The mortality among the negroes, it is said, was slight, (a fact previously well known,) while the French lost at the rate of one, the Germans one and a half, the Dutch two, the American three, and the English four per cent.[2] In the prevalence of other diseases, the same circumstance meets our notice: thus, the workmen employed in draining the drowned lands of Orange County, in the State of New York, in 1808 and 1809, were attacked, about the middle of August, with a malignant fever. They were chiefly Irish[3]. But agues are the "torment of the inhabitants of the alluvial regions in "the western country, particularly of those who come "from Europe[4]." These facts convey a very adequate idea of the great, but not indeed the precise proportion of foreigners who are in America; which could only

[1] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. i., p. 259.
[2] Lit. Gazette, March 4, 1826.
[3] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. i., p. 269.
[4] Ibid., p. 272.

be completely obtained, as far as this method of proof is concerned, by accurate bills of mortality, in which the natives and emigrants should be distinguished. These, however, do not at present exist: nearly a century ago the distinction was made, and preserved in the published accounts of one city, Philadelphia: these, for ten years, which are all I have been able to obtain, I subjoin. They will not only illustrate, by figures, some of the facts already advanced in this section, but will fully prove another important point; namely, that the account previously given, of emigration to America, even at that early period, is so far from being overstated, as perhaps the reader might have imagined, that it is evidently greatly underrated; as must always be the case where exaggeration is not the real object.

TABLE[1] II.

BILLS OF MORTALITY IN PHILADELPHIA, IN NORTH AMERICA, FROM THE YEARS 1738 TO 1744 INCLUSIVE.

Years.	Church of England.	Swedish.	Presbyterian.	Baptist.	Quakers.	Strangers.	Negroes.
1738	113	24	29	15	46	269	54
1739	109	16	18	7	56	97	47
1740	105	8	22	12	29	80	34
1741	165	30	41	20	120	300	69
1742	126	35	21	9	70	98	50
1743	117	No Account.	19	21	68	150	50
1744	123	16	29	14	81	100	47
	858	129	179	98	470	1094	351

[1] Gent. Mag., 1751, p. 533.

Six years afterward, the divisions had become increased in number, and the bills for three years were as follow. The first line, however, only gives the burials for half the year 1750[1], with the exception of those of the Church of England and the negroes.

TABLE[2] III.

BILLS OF MORTALITY IN PHILADELPHIA, IN NORTH AMERICA, FROM 1750 TO 1752 INCLUSIVE.

Years.	Church of England.	Swedish	Presbyterian.	Dutch Lutherans.	Dutch Calvinists.	Baptists.	Quakers.	New Buildings.	Roman Catholics.	Strangers. Whites[3].	Negroes.
1750	129	13	26	28		11	104	19	15	250	84
1751	Wanting.	27	48	56	40	28	107	30	21	319	Wanting.
1752	Do.	20	28	26	31	9	53	30	16	286	Do.
		60	102	110	71	48	264	79	52	855	

The last table, comprehending a period of two years and a half, (or, as I suspect, two years only, the last line being, I think, like the first, the account of six months only,) shows the presence of an immense majority of foreigners already in that city; which was, no doubt, in this respect a fair representation of the population of the whole colony. The strangers, in the document copied, are explained to be Dutch (Germans) and other white people[4]; these, together with those entered as Swedes and Dutch of different denominations, constitute a great majority of the whole; independently of the Presbyterians and Catholics, who were probably Irish. A more unequivocal proof of

[1] Douglas, Summary, vol. ii., p. 324.
[2] Universal History, Mod. Pt., vol. xli., pp. 81, 82.
[3] Strangers, Dutch, and other white people.
[4] Universal Hist., vol. xli., pp. 81, 82.

the prevalence of emigration at that period, and of its vast accumulation, could not possibly be adduced. Had similar documents been continued to be published and made general, no argument like the present would ever have been started. It is wandering, perhaps unnecessarily, beyond the present subject, to observe that these emigrants swelled the list of births as well as burials; thus I find the christenings among the Swedes and Lutherans alone, during these three, or more probably two years, amounted to 470[1]. "Emigration immaterial"!

(10) I might add, that if "strangers and foreigners" have contributed thus largely to the lists of mortality in America, they have, on the other hand, amply shared in its boasted longevity. (I fear, a very unsubstantial boast!) Thus, one hardly meets with a list of persons who have survived to a very advanced age in that country, which the American writers are very fond of giving, which is not made up in a great degree (if the places of birth are specified) of natives of other countries[2].

(11) But I hasten to close these incidental proofs of the presence of an immense mass of foreign emigrants in America, which it is obvious might be greatly multiplied by an appeal of a far more pleasing character than any that has preceded it; I allude to the charity of the United States. I mean not that liberal extension of the godlike principle of the poor-law of England, by which, as Dr. Dwight boasts, (and here is indeed just ground of glorying,) they not only provide for the comfortable maintenance of their own poor, but of poor strangers, in whatever country they

[1] Universal History, vol. xli., p. 81.

[2] Warden, Statistical Acct. of the United States, vol. ii., p. 357. Holmes, Account of the United States, p. 161. Dr. Williamson, Hist. North Carolina, see Warden, vol. ii. 375. Dr. Barton, American Phil. Transact., vol. iii., pp. 30—33.

were born. No: I rather allude to those numerous benevolent institutions, established for the special purpose of succouring the indigent and distressed of every country, who may from whatever motive have taken refuge in theirs. The names of these establishments are various, but their object is uniform, and substantiates the fact which has called them into existence. But I must refer to Dr. Morse, Mr. Warden, Mr. Mellish, and others, for their description; for, to the honour of the New World, they are too numerous to be particularized in a work of this nature[1]. There is not a country upon earth where the first and distinguishing virtue of human beings, the peculiar badge and brand (as Tertullian calls it) of Christianity, Charity, is in more constant, warm, and unwearied exercise. And in speaking of such a people, whom it is the glory of England to have planted, and for whom all true Englishmen cherish fraternal feelings, if I have called into question their notions of human prolificness, which, however, they have in great measure imbibed from "the philosophers of Europe," it is only that I might defend the universal rights of human nature and the institutions of GOD from a theory founded upon their supposed increase. In all other respects, and while the Americans are thus worthy of the fathers that led them forth and planted them in the New World, as it regards their principles and conduct, political and religious; so far from wishing their diminution or decay, "May GOD make them an hundred "times so many more as they be!"

[1] There are in Philadelphia, besides these associations for the relief of distressed emigrants, *eleven* mutual benefit societies for foreigners and their descendants. Warden, vol. ii., p. 88.

CHAPTER IX.

OF EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA, PROVED FROM THE CENSUSES OF THE UNITED STATES GENERALLY, AS DIVIDED INTO SEXES AND AGES.

(1) HAVING in the preceding chapters proved, by a variety of historical, as well as incidental, evidence, the existence of emigration to America, to an extent which must have had a very great, instead of an immaterial, effect upon the progress of population in that country, I proceed to substantiate that conclusion by a direct appeal to the censuses of the inhabitants; which, though destitute of direct information on the subject, will still yield to a careful examination facts decisive of the question, which the commonest capacity cannot mistake, or the most subtle disputant evade.

(2) In doing this, I shall construct no hypothesis of my own, nor rely upon observations of a doubtful or debatable nature; but rest the argument upon the established and universally recognized laws of Nature. If the advocates of the geometric theory shall contend that the population of America, on which their theory is solely founded, exhibits a series of exceptions to those laws, that confession would be to evade the difficulty by surrendering their principle.

(3) I think it is unnecessary to prove what none have ever doubted, namely, that whatever their numbers may be, a considerable majority of the emigrants are of the male sex. The reason of the case confirms

the evidence of constantly recorded facts[1]; and, were any found with confidence sufficient to deny both, the censuses would not permit it to be done, without compelling them, at the same time, to impute to the operations of Nature a series of irregularities of which she is never guilty.

(4) My first proof, then, that the population of America is very materially affected by emigration, (and it is one which merits priority, both in regard to its simplicity and certainty,) is founded upon the proportion of the sexes as given in the censuses of that country; they being found to give, contrary to the fact, as it respects all others, and also to the established laws of mortality, a great plurality of males.

(5) The near equality in the numbers of the sexes at birth, with that trifling excess of males, which, however, soon disappears, in consequence of the more favourable law of mortality, that prevails as an universal law of Nature as it respects the other sex[2], continuing through every stage of life, so as to constitute a majority of the existing population of every community in the civilized world, with the exception of that of the United States, females, is a fact too universally known to need any proof, and the subject will be resumed in another part of this treatise. The sole reason of the United States being an exception, is Emigration, which is constantly composed, as we have observed, of so much larger a pro-

[1] Major Graunt, Observations, p. 66. Dr. Franklin, Works, vol. ii., p. 156. Dr. Price, Revers. Payts., vol. ii., pp. 264, 333. Dr. Barton, American Phil. Transactions, vol. iii., p. 135, "More men than women emigrate." Dr. Drake, Hist. of Cinn., quoted by Warden, vol. ii., p. 249. Dr. Seybert, Statistical Annals, p. 29. Bulletin Universel, vol. ii., p. 367. Encyc. Brit., Supplement, Art. Population.

[2] Dr. Price, Revers. Paym., vol. i., pp. 8, 81, 126, 360, 367; vol. ii., 8. 148, 149, 267. Muret, Mem. Soc. Eion de Berne, 1766, Part I. Susmilch, Gottliche Ordnung, tom. ii., p. 317, &c. Wargentin, K. V., Ac. Handl., 1766. Nicarder, K. V. Ac. Handl., 1801. 1 Qu. tab. Q. Dr. Heysham, Hutchinson, Hist. of Cumb., vol. ii., pp. 667, 668. Milne, Annuities, vol. ii., pp. 520, 530.

portion of males than females, as, in that one country, to reverse the proportions which Nature has established regarding all the rest.

(6) The censuses of every country in Christendom which has yet produced any, might be here appealed to. I shall, however, only particularize those of Sweden, as perhaps the most minutely accurate, in most respects, of any that have hitherto been taken. In the Swedish censuses of 1800 and 1805, which now lie before me, the former gives a total of 1,532,849 males, and 1,649,283 females; the latter 1,599,487 males, and 1,721,160 females. It will be found, that very similar proportions existed in the censuses of 1757, 1760, and 1763. Regarding the different divisions of this country, in England there were, at the last census, 5,483,679 males, and 5,777,758 females; in Scotland, 983,552 males, and 1,109,904 females; and, in Wales, 342,154 males, and 358,056 females. The last census of the United States gives, on the contrary, a vast majority to the male division of the census, this being 3,995,053, and the female one only 3,866,657. In the preceding censuses the same striking fact presents itself, and even in a somewhat larger disproportion.

(7) Before I proceed to calculate from these data the many hundred thousands of male emigrants only which must have been added to the American population, to occasion such an effect, it may be well to clear away, by a prolepsis, those objections which may, by possibility, be urged against so important a deduction, though they are of a nature which are almost sufficiently answered by being mentioned. They are these: the sexes may possibly be born, in different proportions, in America, compared with other countries, so as to produce this unusual result;

or, secondly, the relative laws of mortality, as it respects the sexes, as observed every where else, may be reversed in that country. These suppositions, I repeat, are almost too ridiculous to deserve answering; but the importance of the argument demands that it should be defended from objections, however futile.

(8) First, then, the sexes are not born in different proportions, at least, in any degree that can at all invalidate the general conclusion. In this and the succeeding demonstrations, I shall generally refer to the census of Wales, because I conceive the population is there more agricultural and pastoral than in any other part of Great Britain; and again, because the peculiarity of their language, and their attachment to their native country, render the inhabitants, generally speaking, more distinct, and less affected by emigration in any sense of the word. Let us, therefore, compare the first division of the American census, namely, that which gives the numbers of the males and females, respectively, under ten years of age, with the first two divisions of the census of Wales, which, together, include the same term of years; the result must be perfectly conclusive, for it is quite clear that no individual emigration under that age can take place; and as to those who emigrate in families, it is as obviously true, that the sexes of the children will be in the natural proportions. As, therefore, 1,345,220 male children under ten years of age in North America are to 1,280,550 females of the same age and country, so are 99,940 males under ten in Wales to 95,135 females. There are actually in the summary 95,340. Or if we take the mean numbers of the last and preceding census of the United States, the proportions will stand thus: as 1,185,249 males under ten, are to 1,130,988 females under ten, so

are 99,940 to 95,364. Now, what is the difference in the relative proportions of the sexes of that age in America and Wales, according to this unexceptionable mode of calculation?—24 only in the entire population of the latter country!

(9) I may observe, that these proportions prevail, with those slight variations only which must perpetually exist, and which do not at all affect the proposition, throughout every part of the Union, and equally in the old States as in the new, and in classes of the community the most dissimilar in all respects.

(10) As, therefore, the sexes are born in the generally established proportion to each other, the sole remaining doubt which can affect the calculation about to be made, is, whether the rate of mortality is less favourable to females than to males in the United States: a very different question to whether a more unfavourable one, as it respects both sexes generally, when compared with the healthy countries of the Old World, does not prevail there; a fact which, I fear, must be conceded. Of this greater degree of mortality the male life has, probably, more than its share, and especially after the age of puberty, owing, perhaps, among other things, to so free a use of spirituous liquors, by the men, throughout the Union. But even previously to that period the females have the advantage. Availing myself of a table (No. LI., at the end of the third book), in which the population is distributed into annual divisions, and upon a plan not liable to much objection, I hope, on the ground of incorrectness, and to none whatever on that of intentional miscalculation, I find that though, as before shown, the sexes at birth, or rather in the first divisions of the census, were in very exactly similar proportions in

both countries, namely, 1,048 males to 1,000 females; yet in the next section, namely, from 10 to 16, the proportion of the males, which still remained the same in Wales, had fallen, in the United States, to 1,012 to 1,000 females; exhibiting, therefore, thus early, a conformity to an universal law, namely, the smaller mortality of the female sex, noticed by every writer on this subject[1], which law, as will be shown hereafter, answers one of the most important purposes in the whole economy of nature.

(11) In the next division, therefore, the females have, here as elsewhere, attained to a majority in number, fully establishing the point at issue. It is, however, a smaller one than is exhibited by any similar document, including the same period, of any other country; a circumstance plainly attributable to the cause so often adverted to, which begins to operate at about these ages: I mean emigration; without attending to which, it would be impossible to reconcile the censuses of America either to fact or philosophy. We can hardly imagine that the law of mortality, which exists every where else, and which has already shown itself in operation here, should be suddenly reversed, and that therefore, the females who had thus overbalanced the males in number, should again, and in every remaining division of the census, fall into a great and increasing minority.

(12) On the fact of this single division only of the census exhibiting a majority of females, the males being more numerous in the two preceding divisions, and again becoming so in the two succeeding and final ones, (singular only to those who deny the effect

[1] Wargentin thus expresses this universal rule; "The smaller mortality of "females is a natural law, which ope- "rates constantly from infancy to old "age."—See Mr. Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 215.

of emigration on American population,) Dr. Seybert makes some extraordinary remarks, which, from the feeling of piety they evince, I regret to be compelled to treat as utterly unfounded, I had almost said, ridiculous. "It is a fact," says he, "worthy of notice, "that during the two periods for which the discrimi- "nations have been made in our returns, viz. in 1800 "and 1810," (and since he published a third, that of 1820 conforms to the same fact,) "the free white "females, of 16 and under 26 years of age, were more "numerous than the males of the same ages. In 1800, "for every 100 males of the description aforesaid, "there were 102.18 females; in 1810, for every 100 "of the males, of the ages specified, there were 102.56 "females[1]. Although, in the aggregate of the free "white population, there was, for every other period, "an excess of males, yet the females were more nu- "merous than the males at that time of life when "marriages usually take place in our country. In the "foregoing regulation there is much to admire in the "wisdom of the Almighty! The period of life when "the females exceeded the number of the males, is the "most important for the conservation of our species; "our existence and increase are then more effectually "secured by a moderate preponderance of the sex, "which is at all times the most delicate, and, from "peculiar circumstances, at that period the most "liable to casualties." He goes on to remark, (and it confirms the whole of what I have been previously proving,) that in the proportion in the births of the sexes, "their enumerations accord with the experience "of most other countries[2]."

[1] In 1820 there were 101.18; a striking proof of the continued, and, indeed, increased emigration, as, from the accounts in the termination of ch. vi. of this book, one should expect to find.

[2] Seybert, Statist. Ann. of America, pp. 44, 45.

(13) All this is passing strange: either the fable of Tiresias must be realized in America, and an exchange in the sexes of some hundreds of thousands of the population have taken place; or the law of mortality, as it respects the females, must be reversed to a most afflicting degree, which would ill accord with the commentary put upon the fact by Dr. Seybert. There would be little reason to point out to our admiration a particular law of Nature, tending to secure the existence and increase of the species, which should give to the prolific sex a numerical superiority at the period when, he says, their marriages usually take place; only to reverse it when those marriages had to yield their increase, and when the continuation of maternal life is almost as essential to the preservation, as it was to the production, of infant existence. Little more need to be urged in contradiction of the alleged rate of American prolificness, were such a supposition true. The difficulty would be to shew how such a population could keep up its numbers. But the wonder does not cease here; we are to admire at this majority of females in the period when "the sex is most liable to casualties;" seeing, as we do in the same document, that when that "liability" has abated, the same sex instantly sinks into the minority. Dr. Seybert, like many similar writers, is desirous of attributing almost all the irregularities he notices to migration, save this; and here such an explanation would be too preposterous, except on the supposition before hinted at, that in America a change of sex accompanies a change of situation. Elsewhere, however, he explains the results he notices as arising from "a combination of causes they do not precisely understand[1]." The fact under immediate consideration is owing directly and solely to emigra-

[1] Seybert, Statist. Ann. of America, p. 42.

tion; which, with the law of Nature, which it is the purpose of this work to unfold, will fully account for the various anomalies, as he thinks them, in the progress of American population.

(14) Let us then pay some further attention to the proportion of the sexes in this division of the American census; as it is here beyond a doubt, that individual emigration commences, consisting, as we have before observed, of males, who constitute a great majority of the entire number of such accessions. Before the age of 16, those who proceed to America proceed in families, and consequently with the usual proportions of the sexes. Having already found that the sexes are born in the usual proportions in America, as Dr. Seybert has also asserted, and seen, moreover, that, up to this date, the mortality of the females, compared with that of the males, was the reverse of being in excess, we may, without difficulty, deduce from the relative number of the sexes in this section, the majority of the male sex, which exists in America, between those two ages; which majority will be that of the male emigrants, which, it is very evident, as will be insisted upon hereafter, is a far less amount than the entire number.

(15) The whole number of males between 16 and 26, in the census of 1820, is 776,150, of the females 781,371; giving an excess of the latter of only 5221 individuals. By a comparison with the census of a part of Great Britain, which in its first sections has exhibited such a striking coincidence with the American one, I mean Wales, instead of this majority of 5221, there ought to be one amounting to 56,793. Thus, as 1827, the number of females between 16 and 26, in every 20,000 of the population of Wales, (see Table No. XLIX. at the end of the third Book,) are to 1682, the

number of the males similarly calculated, so are 781,371, the number of the females in America of the same age, to 719,357, the proportionate number of the males of a like class, according to the regular laws of Nature. But the actual number found is 776,150, leaving the large difference just given, which is evidently the majority of the males in the whole number of emigrants added to that section: but of the majority merely.

(16) In thus selecting the census of Wales in order to prove the fact contended for, I have been guided by the reasons already alleged; had I, on the contrary, merely wished to obtain as high a result as possible, I should have taken, in preference, either of the remaining divisions of Great Britain. That of England, calculated in the same manner upon a table given at the end of the third Book (No. XLVIII.) would have afforded a difference of 82,375, instead of 56,793; that of Scotland a still greater excess.

(17) But if these appeals to the census of Great Britain should be objected to on various grounds, the same facts may be still proved by the evidence of even American statistics. The State of New Hampshire, for instance, may be well instanced, as one of the most flourishing in New England; and instead of its being recorded as a migrating one, (the only objection to its being considered as affording decisive evidence in the present inquiry,) I find that the increase which it exhibits is stated to be "partly owing to emigration "from the neighbouring states, and from different "parts of Europe[1]." It may be fairly inferred, therefore, that if the natural distribution of the population be materially disturbed, it will be in a way prejudicial instead of favourable to my argument. In New Hampshire, then, there were in 1820, 22,703 females be-

[1] Warden, Statistical Account, &c., vol. i., p. 383.

tween the ages of 16 and 26, and 24,806 males. As, therefore, 24,806 : 22,703 :: 781,371 to 715,128, the natural proportion of males in that division of the census of the United States, according to New Hampshire Statistics; which number falls short of the existing one by 61,002 individuals; being the amount, according to this calculation, of the majority of males in the whole number of emigrants which have been added to that division of the census[1].

(18) I have examined this section of the American census thus in detail, because it is evidently at the period it embraces that the effect of emigration must begin to appear. The remaining divisions exhibit the same facts in a still more striking proportion; but I proceed to advert to its total results.

(19) There appears, by the enumeration of 1820, to have been in the whole of the territory of the United States, 3,866,657 free white females of all ages; the question is, what would have been the proportionate number of males independently of emigration, and, consequently, by procreation only, which is so frequently asserted to be the sole natural cause of American increase? If we determine this by the census of Wales, then, as 366,951 is to 350,487, the respective numbers of the males and females in that principality, so is 3,866,657, the total number of the American free white females in 1820, to 3,693,171, their proportion of males. But 3,995,053 was the actual number: being 301,882 in excess. England would give a still higher proportion of males than Wales, and Scotland, again, far higher than England. The proportion, obtained from the whole of Great Britain, would be thus: as 7,254,613 females is to 6,818,718 males,

[1] All the New England States, including Virginia as the oldest State, would leave 45,600 only as that majority. Thus, as 206,457 : 193,029 :: 781,371 to 730,550.

so is 3,866,657 to 3,634,328, leaving an excess of 360,725 [1].

(20) If it be objected that the census of no part of this country ought to be considered as a satisfactory criterion, in as much as the enterprising habits of its natives must disturb the due proportion of the sexes, at least after the period of childhood, I am willing, without thinking that the North Americans would yield us this distinction, to resign the results obtained thus, and to seek them by an appeal to the North American census itself; to a part of it, I mean, which we are given to understand has been long uninfluenced by emigration. Our attention has been particularly directed by the advocates of the geometric theory to Rhode Island, concerning the population of which they have given us repeatedly that assurance. As 40,921 females, therefore, in this state, are to 38,492 males, so would be 3,866,657 females, the whole number in the United States, to 3,637,204. There are, however, as before observed, 3,995,053, an excess of 357,849. These proportions, it will be observed, are very similar to those of Great Britain.

(21) If we add to the census of Rhode Island, that of the three other ancient States which constituted the province of New England, namely, Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, to one or more of

[1] It must, in fairness, be stated, that the amount of the column which Mr. Rickman has inserted in his Summary of the Population of Great Britain is not here included. But this can have no weight as a general objection, though it may indeed tend to somewhat diminish the result of the calculation. But when it is considered that a great part of the additions are made up of "British mariners in registered vessels," and that the Americans have also an immense number of citizens of the same description, who cannot have been included in the classification of the ages, and as there is no separate column which gives their amount, they are evidently omitted. It would, therefore, have been an erroneous comparison had they been included in the British calculation. The number, were it in both instances accurately given, would not materially vary the calculation.

which emigrants are known to repair, notwithstanding many assurances to the contrary, and where we must therefore expect to find the proportion under consideration diminished; these are the results: As 565,586 females are to 540,663 males, the sum of the sexes respectively in New England, so are 3,866,657 to 3,678,589, leaving, in the latter amount, a deficiency of 316,464 males, compared with the really existing number in the United States; being very near, but somewhat exceeding, the difference obtained from the calculation founded upon the census of Wales, as the majority only of males in the whole number of emigrants existing in 1820 in the United States.

(22) These various amounts, none of them so small as 300,000 males, involving, as it is now beginning to be seen, much larger ones, have a far greater influence on the progress of population, than their mere numbers would seem to imply, as will be fully shewn hereafter, and are so fatal to the pretended demonstration of the geometric theory, as derived from the growth of American population from procreation only, that they will, doubtless, be attempted to be evaded by an appeal to some peculiarity in regard to the situation, climate, character, health, peace, or prosperity of America; and thus, by the very common and convenient mode of attempting, by a long and bewildering train of conjectures and explanations, rising occasionally into confident assertions, will it be attempted to confuse, and, finally, to get rid of, the most direct demonstration. In this instance, however, the method will be unavailing. In the same climate and country, a proof of precisely the same nature, and liable to no imaginable objection, has long existed.

(23) There is a class of society in America,

which Europe cannot furnish or recruit, and which certainly will not diminish itself by emigration elsewhere. The individuals who compose it are perfectly distinct from the rest of the population; from the whites, on the one hand, for their colour bewrayeth them, and from the slaves, for they are free. Whatever be their condition, (and I trust it is as free and as happy as it may be expected to be in such a country,) the sexes equally share it; at all events, it is impossible that any circumstances incident to their situation can alter their relative proportions. They are derived, either from an intercourse between white and coloured, or black parents, or from those that have, from time to time, been emancipated, and from the offspring of such. These are now become a numerous body; and to meet the only possible objection to the argument which I shall derive from their census, it must be observed, that as in the slave-holding States the male slaves constitute a decided majority of that unfortunate class, (another proof of the existence of emigration of another and a most affecting kind,) consequently, so far as the free-coloured population is recruited from them, it is clear that the males must have an undue tendency to preponderate in numbers. I appeal, therefore, with confidence, to the proportions of the sexes in this class of human beings, placed in the very situation concerning which we are arguing, kept perfectly distinct, and, it need not be added, subject to the same laws of Nature, especially in regard to the conservation of the species, which its great Author has immutably established.

(24) The census of the free-coloured population of the United States is given in the census of 1820, as follows:

	Males.	Females.	
Under 14	47,659	45,898	
14 to 26 . .	24,048	28,800	
26—45 . .	23,450	27,181	
45 and upwards	17,613	18,881	
	112,770	120,760	Total..233,530

This is the first discriminated census which has been given of that class in America, and it is only less to be regretted that it is not constructed upon the same plan as that of the whites, than that the censuses of the latter are regulated on so unscientific a plan, as though they were actually meant to baffle all inquiries respecting the population of the country. Enough, however, is done to shew that the numbers are consistent with the established proportions of Nature, and, consequently, that we may avail ourselves of the general results.

(25) First, the sexes are born in the usual proportions, as far as can be determined by the number of each in the first division. Thus I find, in the tables previously referred to, the number of the males under 14 in every 20,000 of the population of England to be 3748, in Wales 3817; of the females of the same age in each country respectively, 3641 and 3632; the mean number of the former being 3782, of the latter, 3632. These proportions agree with the above census as follows; as 3632 : 3782 :: 45,898 to 47,793 instead of 47,659, the actual number; a result as satisfactory as though it had been precisely coincident. But we need not go out of the United States to arrive at this conclusion. We may very safely compare the proportion of the sexes of the white population under 16, to that of the coloured under 14, as, though the actual number must vary in consequence of the difference, the proportion of the sexes cannot;

or at least very slightly, if at all. As then 1,885,898, the number of the females in the United States under 16, is to 1,957,755, that of the males of the same age, so is 45,898, the number of free coloured females under 14, to 47,646. But the real number is 47,659; a difference of 13 only! Proving, indeed, that as it regards the laws of Nature, "GOD is no respecter of persons." It might easily be shewn, also, that in this class the facts universally observed elsewhere, namely, the greater longevity of the females than of the males, is equally apparent; but this is perfectly unnecessary: it may, however, be satisfactory to know, that the proportions of the sexes in the entire census on which the argument, as it relates to this class, will be founded, are conformable to those which have been observed to exist elsewhere. In proof of this I shall refer to the censuses of Sweden, as a country whose population is, perhaps, as little affected by external circumstances, as any with whose statistics we are hitherto made acquainted.

(26) In the last Swedish census in which the sexes are discriminated, at least the last of which I am in possession, that of 1805, the males are 1,599,487; the females 1,721,160. As therefore 1,721,160 : 1,599,487 :: 120,760 (the free coloured females of the United States) to 112,223: there are 112,770 free coloured males, a difference, therefore, of only 547 in 233,530 souls. The preceding census, that of 1800, gives the proportions as follows: As 1,649,283 females are to 1,532,849 males, so are 120,760 females to 112,235 males. The agreement is again striking, and the difference too little to discuss, otherwise it might be attributed, perhaps, to a somewhat greater proportion of males from recent manumissions; but, however that may be, it will have been observed,

that the Swedish censuses exhibit a still greater excess of females than does that of the free coloured population of America.

(27) I am inclined, therefore, to rely more upon the results of a calculation founded upon the census of this class than upon any of the preceding ones, seeing that it appertains to the very country whose statistics we are discussing, and is corroborated by two several censuses of a kingdom many thousand miles distant, and containing some millions of inhabitants, and where these facts have been long supposed to be collected and published with the greatest care and precision. If, therefore, we may infer that the proportion in the sexes of the free white population of America does not naturally differ from that of the free coloured population, (and to suppose that it could do so materially is really preposterous,) then the majority of male emigrants existing in the United States is still greater than we have hitherto estimated it: for, as 120,760 free coloured females are to 112,770 free coloured males, so are the 3,866,657 free white females in the United States to 3,610,822 males: whereas there are found 384,231 more than that number. Whence came this excess? Are we to answer this query in conformity with recorded facts, with universal observation, and with the laws of Nature, or in favour of a theory which denies all these authorities, and pronounces emigration to be immaterial?

(28) Having arrived at this stage of the computation, a still more important part of the inquiry awaits us. We have obtained, by a variety of calculations, the majority of males in the emigrants in the United States; our next endeavour must be to ascertain, as nearly as we can, the proportion this majority bears to the whole number.

(29) It is undeniably true, that emigrants principally consist of "young men in the prime of life," but it is equally so that they are not entirely of that description, nor yet of that sex. Many married men proceed to America and take with them their wives and families, in which latter case, the sexes are, on the whole, in their just proportions. Some, though probably few, unmarried females may accompany others in one capacity or other. If in these emigrations the sexes, on the whole, had been nearly balanced, they could have produced none of the effects we have been proving to exist in America. Universal observation, however, and recorded facts, equally contradict this supposition. The question then is; in what proportion do the males exceed the females in these constant deportations? If we can arrive with any tolerable degree of accuracy at this fact, having already detected the amount of that excess in its effects on the population of America, we may form a calculation as to the entire amount of the emigrants now existing in the United States.

(30) After much and particular inquiry, I had formed a kind of list, by which it appeared, that in every twenty emigrants, there might be (children included) six females, the excess of the males would therefore be, eight in that number. This, however, I omit, always preferring to take my documents, in any case of dispute, from those whose deductions I am opposing. I copy, therefore, the following account, apparently official, and bearing the stamp of probability, from the article on Population in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, understood to be written by Mr. Malthus, and at all events referred to by him as authority. "It appears, by an account in the "National Calendar of the United States, for the

"year 1821, that of the 7001 persons who had ar-
"rived in America, from the 30th of September, 1819,
"to the 30th of September, 1820, 1959 only were
"females, and the rest, 5042, males." These numbers, therefore, give a majority of 3083 males in the whole number, 7001[1]. If these proportions, then, are fair and usual, (and they are evidently presented to us as such, in the scientific work quoted,) an excess in a body of emigrants of 3083 males, implies 7001 as its total amount.

(31) The following table, then, exhibits computations as to the entire number of emigrants in the United States, calculated on the above principle, according to the actual excess of males existing in the United States, as compared with the proportions of the sexes in the different countries and districts specified.

TABLE IV.

SHEWING THE NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS EXISTING IN THE UNITED STATES, CALCULATED ON A COMPARISON OF THE CENSUS OF 1820, WITH THOSE OF THE DIFFERENT COUNTRIES SPECIFIED.

Countries and Districts.	Excess of Males in the United States, compared with the proportion in those countries.	Total Number of Emigrants calculated on that excess.
Wales . . .	301,882	685,526
New England .	316,464	718,634
Rhode Island .	357,849	812,618
Great Britain .	360,725	819,149
Free Coloured Americans	384,231	872,527

[1] I find a similar account for the year 1823, in the Bulletin Universel, where it is said that in that year 8170 persons had arrived as passengers in the United States, whereof 5243 were men, 1034 women, and 1889, those whose sex was not designated, probably, therefore, children, and if so, certainly about equal in number as to their sexes. These results, then, do not much vary from those quoted from the Encyclopædia, and are rather gratifying, as so far confirming the facts contained in that account.—Bull. Univers.

(32) Such are the results of the foregoing calculations, regarding the number of emigrants existing in America, which, though founded upon the laws of Nature, instead of theory, and supported by facts instead of hypothesis, I offer to the reader's consideration, without giving an opinion as to whether any or all of them err in deficiency or in excess, or to what degree they may possibly do so. Conversations and correspondence I have had upon the subject of the probable proportion of the emigrants of all nations in the United States, compared with the whole population, which have led me to form a strong opinion on the subject; as they have been held with those of both countries, well competent to judge: and to colloquial authority, I might, perhaps, as properly appeal, as Mr. Malthus frequently does, in favour of his theory; but I object to resting any part of my argument upon private information. I must, therefore, submit the preceding calculations as so many approximations to the precise truth, founded, it is hoped, upon no unfair basis. Whether the history and effects of emigration, as already given, will admit of a smaller accession, others may determine; a far less numerous one would suffice for my argument, which will ultimately prove how much the increase of any community must be accelerated by even a relatively small but constant accession of adscititious numbers. I shall, however, first confirm the general deductions of this chapter, by a further examination of the American censuses, upon an entirely different principle.

CHAPTER X.

OF EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA, PROVED BY THE LAW OF MORTALITY, AS APPLIED TO THE NUMBERS IN SUCCESSIVE CENSUSES.

(1) It is greatly to be regretted, in every point of view, that the American legislature has prescribed a different mode of taking the censuses of that country, in respect of its divisions into ages, than had previously prevailed, wherever that discrimination had been made. The Swedish censuses, under the direction of Wargentin, had, long ago, attained to a degree of correctness, which, it is to be feared, those of no other country have since equalled; in these the term of human life was distributed into sections, each comprising an equal number of years, though some of the first periods were also still more minutely divided for particular purposes. This arrangement rendered it perfectly easy to trace every class through succeeding censuses taken at periods equally distant, and to deduce from thence the effect of advancing age, or, in other words, the law of mortality at every period of life, together with many other interesting results. The American census, on the contrary, is divided into such arbitrary and unequal terms, that the sections in the preceding and succeeding ones have not the least relation to each other. Whatever were the motives for such a deviation from the obvious and established mode, those of science are completely frustrated by it. The argument I am now pursuing would have been

rendered wholly unnecessary, had the regular method prevailed, as the numbers of the same sections, "progressing" through successive censuses, would have manifested the perpetual influence of emigration. The argument, however, still remains, and may be advanced through a somewhat more difficult and circuitous path; and the validity of the preceding observations will be better estimated as we pursue it.

(2) Taking the last census of 1820, there is not in this, any more than the others, any one section which we can trace from the preceding ones. We will, however, attempt to overcome this difficulty; and first, as it respects the concluding one, namely, the free white population of forty-five years of age and upwards: the total amount is 957,353. The simple question here arises, whether, out of the population of America, forty-five years before, namely, in 1775, that number of persons could have survived. Impossible! what, then, has swelled the number to such an amount? Emigration, not "procreation, only." For this once, we are rid of this eternal proviso, as none could so antedate procreation, as to add to this class, after the first period mentioned, a single individual.

(3) In order to determine the probable number in this division, which has been added during the interim by emigration, it will be necessary to fix upon the number of white inhabitants in America, in 1775; and, by applying the law of mortality to this number, the remainder, compared with the amount in the last division of the census of 1820, will determine the question.

(4) The total number of inhabitants in the United States, in 1782, Mr. Malthus says, were 2,389,300[1]; which statement Mr. Coxe confirms, and says, it was

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 339.

made the ground of congressional assessment[1]. In 1780, Mr. Warden informs us, that the amount was 2,051,000[2]. But from these numbers must be deducted the black population, unless we are to admit, as miraculous, a metamorphosis in colour, as we must in sex, in order to get rid of emigration. These amounted, at about this period, to above half a million. Perhaps, however, we may rate the white population, at this time, somewhat higher than these statements would admit us to do. The best accounts, as Coxe says, (concurring in this matter with Lord Sheffield,) make it 1,700,000[3].

(5) But in order to obviate any cavil which may be raised, whether concerning the exactness of this statement, or the rate of mortality which will be applied to it, I will, at once, transfer this entire amount several years backward; thereby reserving a sufficient number to answer all objections which might be urged against the computation, on whatever grounds. Let, then, 1,700,000 be the white population of America in 1775; how many of these would be now in existence, and comprised, of course, in the division of the censuses which give the population of forty-five years old and upwards, in the whole of the United States?

(6) In determining this question, I avail myself of a table constructed by Mr. Milne, upon the basis of the Swedish censuses, and in which the mortality is calculated on the hypothesis of a stationary population, which is a most necessary consideration in this instance; and I do this, not because it best answers the end of ultimately exhibiting the largest surplus of numbers attributable solely to emigration, for, in this

[1] Finch Coxe, View of the United States, p. 200.

[2] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. iii., p. 229.

[3] Coxe, View of the United States, p. 200.

point of view, those of Susmilch, Dr. Price, and others, would suit better; but because the censuses of Sweden have already been confidently appealed to for the purpose of exemplifying, and indeed "demonstrating," the geometric theory. "The expectation of life" may appear lower, especially at birth, in Sweden, than in some other European countries; but I am of opinion, that this is owing, in no inconsiderable degree, to the superior exactness with which the Swedish registers, especially regarding infants, have been long kept; while, on the other hand, the palpable negligence of many other similar documents in this particular has raised that "expectation" elsewhere to a height which amounts to a palpable absurdity.

(5) But in transferring the rate of mortality of Sweden to America, I am again making an unnecessary surrender of part of my argument. The latter country is, compared with Europe, indisputably unhealthy. All the statements, documents, and tables, I have yet seen, confirm this fact. Even the most confident assertor of American increase, Mr. Malthus, acknowledges that "the climate of the United States is not particularly healthy[1]." A very accurate observer, especially on these subjects, Dr. Douglas, in his remarks on the personal constitution of the people born in British America, written in the earlier half of the last century, notices, indeed, their precocity, compared with the inhabitants of the mother-country, but he adds, "their longevity falls much shorter[2];" and Mr. Warden acknowledges, that the country is not now so healthy as formerly; in a word, that "diseases "are much more frequent[3]." "At present," says

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, vol. ii., p. 483.
[2] Dr. Douglas, Summary, vol. ii., pp. 347, 348.
[3] Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. i., p. 301.

another writer, "it must be confessed, that the country "is unhealthy. Even in the eastern States life is "not so long as it is in Europe. In the middle and "western States, it is still shorter. In the southern "ones, it is again less[1]." But it is neither a gratifying, nor, I think, necessary task, to multiply proofs of this fact, it will be early enough to do so when it is doubted[2].

(6) But in allowing 1,700,000 white inhabitants to have existed in the British colonies in 1775, it must not be forgotten that many scores, if not some hundreds of thousands of that number were emigrants to commence with: this will not be deemed an exaggeration, if the accounts of the astonishing extent of emigration, both from Scotland and Ireland, as well as from Germany and elsewhere, for some years previous to this period, given in a preceding chapter, are recollected. This observation made, I will proceed to the calculation.

(7) To allow, then, 1,700,000 to have been the population of the American colonies in 1775, how many would have survived 45 years afterward, and consequently would have been numbered in the census of the United States, of 1820, as being 45 years of age and upwards, independently of foreign accessions, according to the rate of mortality existing in Sweden? Turning to Mr. Milne's fourth table, I find, that 722,300 individuals, of both sexes, and all ages, would, 45 years afterwards, be reduced to 198,274; according to this, the 1,700,000 inhabitants of the United States, in 1775, the survivors of whom

[1] Holmes, Account of the United States, p. 160.

[2] See Beaujour, United States. Professor Kalm, Travels in North America, vol. i., pp. 103, 104; vol. ii., p. 189. Hist. Carolina, vol. ii., pp. 293, 294. Fearon, Sketches, p. 10. Morse, Geog. p. 310. Present State of Great Britain and North America, p. 193, &c.

would form the section of 45 years of age and upwards, in 1820, would be reduced to 466,656. But the number in that section of the census amounts to 957,853. The difference is 491,197; the number of emigrants, according to this method of computation, that existed in America, of the age of 45 years and upwards, in 1820.

(8) But, as far as the proof derived from the Swedish censuses is concerned, we have a more satisfactory method of arriving at the number sought, than that derived from any table whatever, however elaborately or correctly constructed; indeed, one, against which, I think, human ingenuity will find it hard to fabricate an objection. We have a census of Sweden, in the year 1760, at which period the total number of the inhabitants amounted to 2,367,598. It happens, fortunately for the argument, that just 45 years afterwards the census of 1805 was taken; and, like the former one, divided into sections of five years each throughout. It is clear, therefore, that the survivors of the former period will be found classed in the latter census, in the sections of 45 years of age and upwards, which must, of necessity, comprise the whole number: that number is 720,678. Admitting the correctness of the data, (and the first census was constructed under the superintendence of Wargentin, and the latter, of Nicander,) nothing can be surer than the result, which is a matter of fact, and not of calculation. Applying, then, the actual rate of mortality of Sweden to that of America, at nearly the same period, and this is the result: as 2,367,598 : 720,678 :: 1,700,000 : 517,466. We find, however, the number in the last section of the American census, containing the inhabitants of 45 years and upwards, exceeds by 440,387 that sum; an excess attributable to emigration only.

(9) The tables of Susmilch and others would give a still larger excess; to these, however, I shall not appeal: on the contrary, I will mention a method of calculation which would considerably diminish either of the above results. The population of the United States contains a larger proportion in the earlier sections, than that of Sweden; were the mortality, therefore, equal in both countries at the same ages, a larger proportion of the whole number would survive to a later period in the former, than in the latter country. I have classed the presumed population of America, in 1775, according to the manner in which the ages are at present distributed, and applied the same tables of Mr. Milne's to each, and I subjoin the calculation in a note[1]; though I should object to the result so obtained, as expressing the total amount of the emigrants in the concluding division of the last census, in as much as a great number of the 1,700,000, as before observed, were certainly themselves emigrants, to say nothing of the antedating of that number, or of the too favourable rate of mortality applied to it.

(10) But the census of 1790 may be applied in the same manner; and, as affording a precise date, and being the result of actual enumeration, is not liable to objections which may be possibly urged against the preceding computation. There were, at that period, in the United States, 3,093,111 inhabitants of all ages. In 1820, the survivors of these would, of

[1]

1775.		1820.	
Under 10	567,792	45 to 55	329,654
10 to 16	263,352	55 to 61	144,709
16 to 26	336,795	61 to 71	141,482
26 to 45	324,937	71 to 90	44,565
45 and upwards	207,124	90 and upwards	465
	1,700,000		660,875
		Difference	296,978
		Total	957,853

course, be 30, and upwards. The census of that year gives us, in its last two divisions, the number at 26 and upwards, which is 2,460,536. Referring to Table LI. at the end of the Third Book, in which the American population, as classed at that time in ages, is distributed into annual proportions, calculated, like the others, on a radix of 20,000, (and which was constructed before the present calculation was thought of,) I find that a deduction of nearly 17.122 per cent.[1] from that number, will leave the proportion at 30 and upwards, which is the amount we want. The number, thus reduced, will be 2,039,246. The table of Mr. Milne, before referred to, gives the diminution in both sexes occurring in that interval, as the difference between the numbers 722,300, and 346,631. These proportions would give 1,484,380, as the survivors in 1820, of the population of 1790, being those, of course, 30 years old and upwards. But there are, as we have seen, 2,039,246 of that class. Admitting this computation to be accurate, there were, therefore, in the United States, 554,866 emigrants of 30 years old and upwards; besides those of a younger age, and those also who had emigrated before 1790 and who still survived.

(11) I had made other calculations, in reference to the different divisions of the successive censuses of America, which led to conclusions of a similar nature; but, as I place little reliance, I confess, on this branch of the argument, I have omitted them. The transference of the rate of mortality in Sweden to America is fatal to the correctness of any pretended demonstrations founded upon such an assumption. The rate of mortality in the latter country is reckoned, even

[1] Were the same calculation founded upon the Swedish table, (Milne's No. V.) it would give a difference of 12.75.

by Mr. Warden, who is the least scrupulous calculator that probably ever existed, when he thinks the character of his country is at stake, at 1 annual death in every 40 inhabitants; whereas, it appears by the last census of Sweden, that in that country it is only 1 in 48, a difference, of course, of one-fifth, even were the former statement true. This difference in the rate of mortality, together with the superior fecundity of American marriages, (a fact which I not only admit, but for which it will be found I contend, as one of the proofs of the true principle of population;) and the perpetual accessions to the existing inhabitants of the country, by constant emigrations, all contribute in their several degrees, and especially the last, to that peculiarity in the distribution of the American censuses, in respect to the relative proportions of the population at different ages, which cannot have escaped the notice of those who have given the slightest attention to the subject. This also, as affording another unequivocal proof of the magnitude and extent of emigration, will be briefly discussed.

CHAPTER XI.

OF EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA, PROVED BY ITS EFFECTS ON THE RELATIVE NUMBERS OF THE DIFFERENT SEXES AND AGES, IN THE CENSUSES OF THE VARIOUS STATES.

(1) THE relative proportions which the numbers in the different divisions in the American censuses exhibit, prove also the existence of a vast and incessant emigration to that country. The super-proportion in the numbers of the former or younger divisions of the census, to the later or older ones, is so great, when compared with the same section in the censuses of this or of any other European country, and when examined at the distance of a single generation only from each other, (excluding, therefore, from the comparison, the effect of any second or geometric increase,) as totally to negative the idea, that any supposable difference in the relative number of marriages, or their possible prolificness, could have occasioned it. I am aware that Mr. Milne has professed to demonstrate from these relative numbers in the censuses, that America increases independently of emigration, and consequently by procreation only, so as to double in geometric progression every twenty-five years; and I had paid some considerable attention to the proofs he advances, with a view to their refutation; but having, in a subsequent part of this treatise, shown, beyond, I think, the possibility of a doubt, that the demonstration involves a series of palpable impossibilities, it is unnecessary any further to refute the hypothesis on which

they are founded; I, therefore, suppress what I had written in relation to it. But these striking variations in the American censuses, compared with the European ones, still remain, and have to be accounted for. I proceed to shew that they constitute an additional proof of the existence and great extent of emigration; not meaning, however, to contend that a greater degree both of prolificness and of mortality contributes, but in a slighter proportion, to the same effect. But let us first present the differences in question. They are, comparing the English, Welsh, and American censuses together, as follows:

TABLE V.

SHEWING THE PROPORTION OF THE NUMBERS OF EACH SEX, AT THE AGE SPECIFIED, IN EVERY 20,000 OF THE POPULATION OF ENGLAND, WALES, AND THE UNITED STATES, COMPUTED ON THE CENSUSES OF THOSE COUNTRIES IN 1820.

Ages.	ENGLAND.				WALES.				UNITED STATES.			
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Females to 1000 Males.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Females to 1000 Males.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Females to 1000 Males.
under 10	2819	2770	5589	981	2855	2723	5578	953	3422	3257	6679	952
10 to 16	1351	1286	2637	952	1395	1330	2725	953	1558	1539	3097	987
16 to 26	1687	1900	3587	1126	1682	1827	3509	1086	1975	1988	3963	1006
26 to 45	2131	2379	4510	1201	2330	2271	4302	1118	1951	1874	3825	960
45 and upwards	1796	1881	3677	1048	1811	2075	3886	1145	1259	1177	2436	935
Totals .	9784	10,216	20,000	1044	9773	10,227	20,000	1035	10,165	9835	20,000	968

To exhibit the same comparison in the same country, I will add,

TABLE VI.

SHEWING THE PROPORTIONATE NUMBERS OF EACH SEX, AT THE AGES SPECIFIED, IN EVERY 20,000 OF THE FREE COLOURED AND FREE WHITE POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Ages	Free Coloured Population.				Free White Population.			
	Males.	Females.	Total.	Females to 1000 Males.	Males.	Females.	Total.	Females to 1000 Males.
under 14	4082	3931	8013	963	4492	4310	8802	959
14 to 26	2060	2466	4526	1197	2463	2474	4937	1003
26 to 45	2008	2328	4336	1159	1951	1874	3825	960
45 and upwards	1508	1617	3125	1072	1259	1177	2436	935
Totals .	9658	10,342	20,000	1070	10,165	9835	20,000	967

(2) It is unnecessary to particularize the great difference the preceding tables exhibit; it is sufficiently apparent that the numbers in the more advanced periods of life are, in the American census, beyond all due proportion, smaller than those of corresponding ages in the European ones; or even than in that of the free coloured population, where the rate of mortality is at least as great, and that of prolificness hardly any smaller, if we may judge any thing as to that fact, from comparing the first and second divisions together: the children under 14, compared with the persons between 14 and 26, being, in the free white population, as 178, and in the free coloured, as 177, to every hundred. In the succeeding divisions, (those of more advanced ages,) the deficiencies in the census of the United States are most conspicuous, compared even with the free coloured popula-

tion of the same country, much more with that of Europe; and these deficiencies are attributable in great measure to emigration, and constitute a proof of it.

(3) It appears, at first sight, that the afflux of a considerable number of emigrants in the prime of life, to any country, would have the effect of increasing the relative number of the inhabitants, at the particular age at which they emigrated, and of the succeeding stages of life to which they should survive; but a little consideration will dissipate this error, and shew, that directly the contrary is the effect, at least as it regards the older divisions of the census. It is true, the classes under consideration would be numerically increased by the amount of such accessions, but the relative proportion of those in the more advanced periods of life, calculated on the entire number of the population, would be diminished; and this is the point at issue. It is one, moreover, to which the reader's attention is more particularly directed; as, in its consequences, it forms another most important branch of the argument hereafter to be considered. It is unnecessary to repeat, that emigrants, generally speaking, are composed of individuals in the prime of life, usually single young men, who, as Franklin says, "marry and settle in their adopted country." Dr. Seybert has pointed our attention to the fact of a surplus of females at the marrying period, in the United States, and we need no authority to inform us, that people in the prime of life, and especially in America, marry, or that marriages are prolific. Nay, if they are already married, and take their families with them, the argument is not in the least impaired, so long as it is admitted, that the great mass of those who change their country are little beyond the meridian of existence.

Emigration, therefore, adds to the prolific, and consequently to the juvenile classes also; but it does not increase the effete ones, if I may so term those who are no longer prolific. But to state the argument more familiarly. Very few grandfathers or grandmothers, it is presumed, emigrate; nor, comparatively speaking, many fathers and mothers; though the latter circumstance would little affect the question, as, in that case, they would remove with their children. Emigrants, nevertheless, are not Melchizedeks; they have had parents, and, considering their average age, many have still surviving ones. All their fathers and mothers, grandfathers and grandmothers, who have not accompanied them, but who still live in the countries from whence they come, are evidently wanting in the latter divisions of the American censuses, and to those divisions, their entire number must be added, before it be possible to deduce from them the rate of human increase from "procreation only." After these emigrants shall have themselves become advanced in life, so as to be numbered among the terminating divisions of the census, it is clear, that their natural proportion of descendants would be found in the younger divisions, and consequently, the order and proportion of the generations would then be entire. But, in the mean time, it is quite plain that an accession of emigrants at the prime of life, or about that period, must of necessity diminish the relative numbers of all beyond that stage of existence. Hence the deficiencies in the terminating divisions of the American censuses, instead of affording any demonstration of the rate of increase prevailing there, are in full proof of the existence of emigration, and the degree in which they occur indicates the magnitude of these accessions.

(4) Hitherto, I conceive nothing can be clearer than the preceding reasoning, but I shall proceed to substantiate the argument by irrefragable evidence; and that not derived from different and distant countries, which might be the means, perhaps, of affording some ground for cavil, but from the census of the United States, and not selecting from thence, such proofs only as would serve my purpose, to the rejection of others, which might not be so tractable; but taking the whole of the facts it comprises, and as they naturally present themselves. First, I shall examine these proportions, as it regards those original States, which it is asserted, emigration has long ceased to replenish. Second, those which have been long settled: to which, however, emigrants are known still to repair, though not in so large a proportion, as to those which will form the third class; namely, those States and territories which have been recently peopled, and by emigration; and I shall add a single striking instance in exemplification of the proof now advanced. I shall give a column in which the proportion of the sexes will also be calculated, and another whence to deduce the rate of increase; both which will still further confirm the general argument, and manifest its coherency throughout. The first division will consist of the early New England States; the second, of the remainder of the original colonies; the third, of the new states and territories; and the fourth will give the proportions sought, in the instance of the recently established and rapidly increasing province of Indiana. In this classification of the States of the great North American confederation, it is obvious that no partial selection, so as to serve the principle at issue, could possibly be made. The evidence of history, and the declarations

of all American writers who have alluded to the subject, some of whom have not altogether overlooked the important facts about to be submitted to the reader, prescribed the division of the States adopted in the ensuing table, the result of which, decisive, it is believed, of the general argument, are derived from the last census of the United States, and I will only premise that similar facts might have been deduced from all the preceding ones.

TABLE

SHEWING THE EXISTENCE AND EXTENT OF EMIGRATION TO THE NUMBERS OF THE SEXES AND THEIR AGES, IN THE CENSUSES

New England States.	FREE WHITE MALES.						
	Under 10.	10 to 16.	16 to 26.	26 to 45.	45 and upw.	Total.	
Massachusetts	70,993	38,573	49,506	54,414	38,668	252,154	
Rhode Island	11,530	5,860	7,596	7,618	5,888	38,492	
Connecticut	36,848	20,682	25,831	25,632	21,814	130,807	
New Hampshire	35,466	19,672	22,703	22,956	18,413	119,210	
TOTALS.	154.837	84,787	105,636	110,620	84,783	540,663	1
Old States.							
Vermont	35,708	19,241	24,137	22,035	16,189	117,310	
Maine	49,217	24,528	28,530	27,742	19,178	149,195	
New York	222,608	104,297	132,753	138,634	81,259	679,551	2
New Jersey	42,055	19,970	24,639	24,418	18,537	129,619	
Pennsylvania	175,381	77,050	102,550	97,144	64,493	516,618	1
Delaware	9,071	4.448	5,516	5,607	3,263	27,905	
Maryland	41,511	18,952	26,404	27,916	16,960	131,743	
Virginia	103,963	45,762	58,863	57,898	38,245	304,731	
North Carolina	75,488	32,912	39,527	36,264	25,453	209,644	
South Carolina	42,658	18,258	23,984	22,115	13,919	120,934	
Georgia	35,444	14,743	19,483	17,874	10,860	98,404	
TOTALS.	833,104	380,161	486,386	477,647	308,356	2,485,654	7
New States, &c.							
Kentucky	83,050	36,004	41,328	38,178	25,136	223,696	7
Tennessee	67,746	28,497	31,028	27,349	18,780	173,400	6
Ohio	111,683	45,858	57,008	54,432	31,626	300,607	10
Alabama	17,103	6,281	9,336	9,055	4,064	45,839	1
Illinois	10,554	4,227	6,224	5,755	2,641	29,401	
Mississippi	8,104	3,266	4,560	5,110	2,296	23,286	
Arkansas	2,420	985	1,427	1,453	686	6,971	
Missouri	10,677	4,256	6,537	6,622	2,909	31,001	
Louisiana	11,817	4,710	8,747	11,236	4,822	41,332	1
Michigan	1,220	559	1,334	1,661	609	5,383	
Columbia (City of Washington)	3,276	1,540	2,171	2,893	1,291	11,171	
TOTALS.	327,650	136,133	169,700	163,744	94,860	892,087	30
Indiana	29,629	11,454	14,428	14,072	7,066	76,649	2

VII.

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FROM ITS EFFECTS ON THE RELATIVE OF THOSE STATES AND TERRITORIES WHERE IT PREVAILS.

FREE WHITE FEMALES.						Total of both Sexes in 1821.	Total of both Sexes in 1811.	Fem. to 1000 Males.
Under 10.	10 to 16.	16 to 26.	26 to 45.	45 and upw.	Total.			
69,260	38,308	52,805	57,721	46,171	264,265	516,419	465,303	1048
10,917	5,769	8,407	8,671	7,157	40,921	79,413	73,214	1063
35,289	19,833	27,205	29,069	24,978	136,374	267,181	255,179	1042
34,599	18,899	24,806	25,797	19,925	124,026	243,236	213,490	1040
150,065	82,809	113,223	121,258	98,231	565,586	1,106,249	1,007,186	1046
35,327	18,577	24,713	23,683	15,236	117,536	234,846	217,145	1002
46,565	23,982	30,823	28,248	18,527	148,145	297,340	227,736	993
216,513	101,904	132,492	129,899	72,385	653,193	1,332,744	918,699	961
39,921	19,504	25,637	24,693	18,035	127,790	257,409	226,868	986
166,710	78,425	101,404	94,345	59,592	500,476	1,017,094	786,804	969
8,657	4,311	5,573	5,537	3,299	27,377	55,282	55,361	981
39,454	19,578	27,293	26,347	15,807	128,479	260,222	235,117	975
98,485	45,766	62,411	55,995	35,686	298,343	603,074	551,534	979
70,998	33,101	42,253	38,069	25,135	209,556	419,200	376,410	999
39,891	18,741	23,662	20,939	13,273	116,506	237,440	213,196	963
33,177	14,937	18,642	15,365	9,041	91,162	189,566	145,414	926
795,698	378,826	494,903	463,120	286,016	2,418,563	4,904,217	3,954,284	973
77,641	35,120	41,905	35,483	20,799	210,948	434,644	324,237	943
63,419	27,770	31,569	27,931	15,638	166,327	339,727	215,875	959
106,036	44,106	53,337	48,797	23,689	275,965	576,572	228,861	911
15,810	6,289	7,993	6,625	2,895	39,612	85,451	nil.	864
9,558	4,018	4,842	4,166	1,803	24,387	53,788	11,501	829
7,220	3,176	3,791	3,107	1,596	18,890	42,176	25,024	811
2,142	900	1,179	934	426	5,581	12,552	nil.	800
9,766	3,978	5,076	4,265	1,902	24,987	55,988	nil.	806
11,062	5,484	6,708	5,695	3,102	32,051	73,383	17,227	775
1,130	525	692	595	266	3,208	8,591	4,598	596
3,319	1,640	2,518	2,615	1,351	11,443	22,614	16,079	1024
307,103	133,006	159,610	140,213	73,467	813,399	1,705,486	843,402	912
27,684	10,707	13,635	12,009	5,074	69,109	145,758	23,890	901

(5) The above table gives the following proportions, calculated on a radix of 20,000, as previously explained.

Classes of States.	Increase in Cent. in 10 Yrs.	MALES.					FEMALES.					
		Under 10.	10 to 16.	16 to 26.	26 to 45.	45 & upwds.	Under 10.	10 to 16.	16 to 26.	26 to 45.	45 & upwds.	Females to 1000 Males.
Four original New England States.....	9.83	2800	1533	1909	2000	1533	2713	1497	2047	2192	1776	1046
Eleven remaining old States.....	21 2/16	3397	1550	1984	1948	1257	3245	1545	2018	1889	1167	973
Eleven new States and Territories..	102 2/16	3843	1597	1990	1920	1112	3602	1560	1871	1644	861	912
Indiana	510 1/16	4066	1572	1979	1931	969	3798	1469	1871	1648	697	901

(6) Nothing can be more conclusive as to the general argument than the above results. Where emigration has, in great measure ceased, the increase is small, the numbers at the different ages (considering the inferior healthiness of America compared with England,) appear in their natural proportions, and the number of the sexes respectively is to each, similar to what prevails in Europe. In those states to which emigration still continues to be directed, though to a less extent than in the new states and territories, there the increase is greater than in the New England ones, and indeed exceeds what nature would admit: it amounted to above 21 per cent. in the ten years preceding the last census. In the division of the sexes, the males have the preponderance, and the aged classes begin to exhibit a great deficiency in their relative numbers, plainly indicating the presence of the great disturbing cause,—emigration. In the eleven new states and territories, where the increase, in ten years, was above one hundred per

cent., consequently rendering it unnecessary to bring any proofs that their present population, any more than their recent foundation, has been owing almost exclusively to emigration, there we find the class of both sexes above forty-five, little more than one-fourth of the number contained in that under ten years of age; whereas, in the four first-mentioned old States, the same proportion was more than double, namely, three-fifths. The female sex, again, has, in those States a lessening proportion compared with the males. Lastly, in Indiana, which has above quintupled its numbers in ten years, there the children under ten are nearly five times the number of the adults of forty-five and upwards, being above three times the proportion that exists in England. The females are still relatively fewer, being only as 901 to 1000 males. Indeed, in some of the yet more recent territories, the same proportion is as little as nearly one-half and three-fourths only of females to males.

(7) Such, then, are the effects which reason taught us to expect, and which facts fully confirm, produced by emigration upon the population of the United States, as evidenced by the censuses, and which, operating on so great a mass of inhabitants, must be vast indeed to have produced results so striking. The deduction is as clear as the facts are undeniably true; and both contradict any hypothesis founded upon the supposition, that America doubles its people by procreation only. To build a demonstration on such a basis, is to impute to Nature a series of irregularities on the most extended scale of her operations, of which she is never guilty, even in the minutest and most trivial of her works.

(8) It is, I conceive, unnecessary to reinforce the preceding proofs; I cannot, however, refrain from

shewing, that the very same effects result from a similar cause in our own island. In those districts to which numerous accessions of inhabitants continually repair, the discriminated census of the country exhibits (as it must of necessity do) a deficiency in the relative number of the inhabitants at the later periods of life, and for the reasons previously stated. Thus, adverting to the table in the fifteenth page of the introductory remarks prefixed to the last census, and taking the counties as alphabetically arranged, I find Leicestershire and Lancashire placed together; the latter, compared with the former county, having a vastly greater number of distant accessions added to its population. On examining the census, as divided into ages, I find, however, the town of Manchester is omitted, and, consequently, in such a comparison, the argument loses one of its chief supports. Nevertheless, in every 20,000 of the inhabitants, there are, in Lancashire, 6063 under ten years of age, in Leicestershire 5512; but, adverting to the proportions of the class at fifty years old and upwards, the former gives 2239 only, the latter 2903. Lancashire increased, during the ten years preceding the last census, 25 per cent.; Leicestershire 15 only. It is quite clear, that the increase in the former county, any more than that in America, was not from procreation only.

(9) But to take a last illustration from one and the same county. The censuses of the Hundred of Lonsdale, north of the Sands, and of the Hundred of Salford, exclusive of Manchester, present these facts when similarly compared. The Hundred of Salford increased, with great rapidity, up to 1820; and, it is needless to add, by constant migrations, from the agricultural parts of the country, and of both sexes; for

in this last respect the analogy, for obvious reasons, fails. In this Hundred there are, in every 20,000 of the population, 6063 children under ten years of age, and 1984 individuals of fifty and upwards; whereas, in the Hundred of Lonsdale, north of the Sands, there are only 5649 of the former age, but the number in the latter division amounts to 3147. Precisely the same facts will appear in the census of any country or district where the population is partly adventitious; and they will be regulated, as to their extent, by the number of such accessions. It is true, that an hypothesis might be formed, in order to prove that the population of the emporium of the cotton manufacture proceeded from procreation only, but it would not only contradict all experience, but the other facts contained likewise in the census of the two several hundreds; for, in that of Lonsdale, north of the Sands, notwithstanding its slower increase, the mortality is smaller, and the prolificness greater, than in the Hundred of Salford. Such an hypothesis, however, would be quite as conclusive as the one which, in spite of facts as universally known, and as undeniably proved, attributes the increase of the population of America to the like source only. But, it is hoped that such an attempt will no longer be persisted in; nor needs the present argument be pursued. The supposed proofs of the geometric theory of human increase, as founded on the American censuses, have not only negatived all such suppositions, but have fully demonstrated the existence and prevalence of emigration as one of the most powerful and efficient of the causes which have distributed the numbers, in the divisions of those documents, in a manner so different from what prevails in all other countries where the population advances by natural generation only.

CHAPTER XII.

OF EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA: PROVED BY THE BILLS OF MORTALITY OF THAT COUNTRY.

(1) I SHALL conclude these proofs, founded on the documents America itself furnishes, of the extent of emigration, by an appeal to the bills of mortality, which have, from time to time, been published there. These present to us certain facts of the most uniform and striking character, which place the theorists who deduce, from the increase of the population there, their geometric ratio, in a dilemma whence, I conceive, there is no escape; namely, either that the mortality in that country, at the prime of life, or, in other words, at the prolific period of existence, is far greater than in any other in the civilized world, or, otherwise, that it is increased at that particular period by a large and perpetual accession of foreign emigration. These conclusions are equally fatal to their entire argument. I hope, for the sake of suffering humanity, the former cannot be adopted as the true one; in proceeding to shew that the latter ought to be received, this appeal to the registers of the mortality must necessarily give the discussion a gloomy character: it will, however, serve to strengthen the whole argument, as the last shades which the painter throws in, give truth and effect to a faithful likeness.

(2) The fact on which this branch of the argument is founded shall be stated in the words of Dr. Price. He says, "the period of life at which settlers

" remove, will appear in the bills by an increase in " the number of deaths at that period;" he adds also, " and beyond it[1]." If he means, by " beyond it," the more advanced ages, he has so far mistaken the effect of emigration, as has been already shewn in the last chapter; but from what he afterwards says, I think he uses the word "beyond" in an opposite sense[2]. Dr. Black is more precise, and perfectly accurate; speaking of these accessions to the capital, he says, " one reason for the great surge in the London bills of " mortality, from 20 to 40, is, that within that inter- " val of life, the majority of new settlers, or recruits, " arrive, and consequently augment the burials of the " metropolis, from 20 to 40, beyond their natural " proportion[3]." He does not go on to say and "beyond" that period, in as much as he saw that such accessions must have had a contrary effect, because the " new settlers" at the ages mentioned, formed a part of the prolific class, and must have had, at least, their full proportion of children, who would, of course, yield an equal quota of mortality to their bills, whereas the parents of the new settlers not removing with them, but dying elsewhere, would not be included therein. Hence at the period of life during which emigration prevails, (the law of mortality remaining the same,) the bills will exhibit an increase in the deaths, proportioned to its extent; after that term, a corresponding diminution. I will merely add, that Dr. Price says, and I think justly, that there will appear, under such circumstances, a small relative proportion of deaths at the period of life immediately preceding that at which this emigration commences; which he mentions that he had invariably remarked in

[1] Price, Revers. Payments, vol. i., p. 330.

[2] Ibid., p. 337.

[3] Black, Med. Analysis, p. 21.

all the registers he had seen, and that the same fact was observed in those of Breslaw, by Dr. Halley; who, not sufficiently attending to the cause, supposed it to be a mistake[1].

(3) The following are two of the tables given by Mr. Barton, in his paper published in the American Philosophical Transactions, vol. iii., p. 36, &c.

TABLE VIII.

FROM DR. BARTON, EXHIBITING THE DIFFERENCES IN THE DECREASE OF LIFE GENERALLY, ACCORDING TO BUFFON; AND ALSO IN THE TOWN OF NORTHAMPTON, AND COUNTRY PARISH OF HOLY CROSS, IN ENGLAND; AND THE TOWN OF SALEM IN MASSACHUSETTS, NORTH AMERICA, CALCULATED ON 1000 INHABITANTS.

Periods of Life.	General Decrease according to Buffon.	Northampton, Gt. Britain.	Holy Cross Parish, Do.	Salem, South of Massachusetts, North America.
Between birth & 5 years old	460	456	341	445
5 and 10	50	48	70	50
10 — 20	40	48	44	35
20 — 30	58	69	59	128*
30 — 40	69	61	60	90*
40 — 50	71	71	73	83
50 — 60	72	70	80	40
60 — 70	79	70	102	35
70 — 80	73	67	81	68
80 & upwards	24	36	83	

[1] Price, Revers. Payments, vol. i., p. 331.

(4) The above table is quite conclusive. Others, however, will be added, so as to bring down the comparison to the present time; and, of course, since the general improvement in health, and especially since the introduction of vaccination has taken place. Dr. Seybert gives the bills of mortality for the year 1814, for Baltimore, Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, thus:

TABLE IX.

EXHIBITING THE BILLS OF MORTALITY OF THE CITIES OF BALTIMORE, BOSTON, NEW YORK, AND PHILADELPHIA, FOR THE YEAR 1814; THE TOTALS OF WHICH ARE PROPORTIONED TO 1000.

Ages.	Baltimore.	Boston.	New York.	Philadelphia.	Total.	Proportion to 1000 Deaths.
Under 5	434	290	639	712	2075	373
5 — 10	41	28	91	53	213	38
10 — 20	76	35	94	72	277	50
20 — 30	179	114	280	154	727	130
30 — 40	167	87	245	239	738	133
40 — 50	115	56	218	175	564	101
50 — 60	49	33	133	132	347	63
60 — 70	29	25	91	106	251	45
70 — 80	35	27	84	78	224	40
80 — 90	25	21	35	42	123	22
90 — 100	2	1	2	18	23	4
100			2	2	4	1
TOTALS.	1152	717	1914	1783	5566	1000

(5) The National Calendar for 1822 gives for five of the cities of the United States, the following:

TABLE X.

SHEWING THE BILLS OF MORTALITY OF THE CITIES OF BOSTON, NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, AND CHARLESTON, FOR 1821.

Ages.	Boston.	New York.	Philadelphia.	Baltimore.	Charleston.	Total.	Proportion to 1000.
Under 1	246	867	835	488	172[1]	2608	253
1 — 2	94	361	307	116	63	941	91
2 — 5	62	254	241	48	43	648	63
5 — 10	27	125	130	77	25	384	37
10 — 20	57	176	175	113	49	570	55
20 — 30	131	418	443	177	99	1268	123
30 — 40	99	409	396	210	129	1243	120
40 — 50	94	359	313	133	80	979	95
50 — 60	69	224	202	107	75	677	65
60 — 70	43	156	152	62	38	451	44
70 — 80	40	101	96	35	28	300	29
80 — 90	25	46	61	47	18	197	19
90 —100	4	17	18	9	5	53	5
100 —110	. .	2	3	3	1	9	1
110 —120	. .	. .	2	98[2]	2	4	
Unknown	112[3]						
	991	3515	3374	1625	827	10,332	1000

[1] The first four sums for Charleston are given together in the calendar (1 to 10; 303). I have proportioned this amount according to the rest of the same ages.

[2] This, though regularly inserted, is, to say the least of it, a gross mistake, and I have accordingly rejected it. It is to be regretted that such palpable errors should receive the sanction of being inserted in public documents.

[3] This number I have, of course, omitted in the calculations.

(6) I shall add another Table, and regarding the same cities, but bringing down the information to a later period, and given on the authority of resident physicians, Drs. Miles and Russ.

TABLE XI.

SHEWING THE MORTALITY IN THE CITIES OF NEW YORK, PHILADELPHIA, BALTIMORE, AND BOSTON, DURING A PERIOD OF SEVEN YEARS, ENDING JANUARY 1, 1827, WITH THE TOTALS PROPORTIONED TO 1000.

Ages.	New York.	Philadelphia.	Baltimore.	Boston.	Total.	Deaths to 1000.
Under 1	5190	5438	2464	1322	14,414	201
1 — 2	2568	2180	967	884	6589	92
2 — 5	2003	1907	938	531	5379	75
5 — 10	946	1020	553	282	2801	39
10 — 20	1261	1296	897	369	3913	55
20 — 30	3573	3079	1350	960	8962	125
30 — 40	3617	3186	1654	920	9387	131
40 — 50	2932	2635	1275	778	7620	107
50 — 60	1847	1842	836	525	5050	70
60 — 70	1209	1335	559	362	3465	48
70 — 80	795	894	371	305	2365	32
80 — 90	421	515	244	158	1338	19
90 —100	96	157	61	28	342	5
100 —110	19	25	20	1	65	1
110 —120	. .	4				

(7) I shall now proceed to exhibit the great difference which exists in the rate of mortality, comparing the bills of the capital of this empire with the foregoing towns of the United States, at about similar periods; by which it will be seen how greatly the latter must be affected by emigration. The comparison, however, will present the proof in question, less forcibly than almost any others that might have been instituted, in as much as the immense magnitude and populousness of London undoubtedly increases its mortality: and moreover, there is a considerable effect produced upon its comparative intensity at the period in question, (the prime of life,) by the numbers of settlers who are constantly resorting thither, as well as to the American cities, though in a far less degree. These circumstances will diminish the difference which would otherwise have been still more striking; it remains, however, sufficiently great, fully to substantiate the present argument. I shall add a column in which the bills of mortality in the city of Carlisle, from 1774 to 1787, are similarly calculated, noticing also, that, even in the latter instance, the proof is deprived of much of its force, because the period referred to preceded the discovery of vaccination, and the late great improvement in general health and longevity.

TABLE XII.

SHEWING COMPARATIVELY THE MORTALITY IN CARLISLE, FROM 1774 TO 1787, OF LONDON IN 1814 AND 1822, AND OF THE PRINCIPAL CITIES IN NORTH AMERICA IN 1814, 1821, AND SEVEN YEARS PREVIOUS TO 1827.

Ages.	Carlisle. 1774-1787.	London. 1814.	London. 1822.	American cities. Table IX.	American cities. Table X.	American cities. Table XI.
Under 10	489	441	378	411	444	407
10 — 20	43	32	34	50	55	55
20 — 30	52	64	73	130	123	125
30 — 40	49	84	98	133	120	131
40 — 50	64	98	107	101	95	107
50 — 60	56	91	101	63	65	70
60 — 70	94	88	87	45	44	48
70 — 80	83	67	71	40	29	32
80 — 90	53	29	42	22	19	19
90 —100	15	4	8	4	5	5
100	2	2	1	1	1	1
	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000	1000

(8) The foregoing tables fully prove, according to the authorities previously quoted, and, indeed, conformably to the reason of the case, that a vast influx of emigrants is added to the American population between the ages of 20 and 40. There can be little doubt but that, if we could institute a fair comparison, it would be found that the deaths under 10 years of age would be about equal, and in the next ten years not very different; whereas, those between 20 and 30, the period of life at which emigration generally

commences, and is very great in its amount, the mortality is actually twice as great; and in the next ten years, during which it is certain that emigration continues to be very prevalent, the deaths are still nearly double those in Europe. On the contrary, in the advanced stages of life, between 60 and 70, for instance, the deaths in America, similarly compared, are not half so numerous, and their proportion still continues to diminish to the end of the term of human life.

(9) There is only one other cause, as before observed, to which these striking differences can be attributed, and that is the supposition of an adequate variation in the law of mortality. But to produce this effect, it must be great to a degree afflicting to contemplate. It would imply that, in America, after the period of infancy, which still continues to make so great a demand on existence, the human race has to enter immediately upon another ordeal full as fatal to the remainder, namely, the prime of life; or, in other words, the very season of prolificness; in passing through which it would appear half that survive to it, perish. The very idea is perfectly irreconcileable with any increase whatever, much less the geometrical one, so often insisted upon. Humanity itself, therefore, prompts us to adopt the other conclusion, and to attribute these results to a cause which has been already abundantly proved to be in existence, and in full operation in America, namely, Emigration.

(10) I do not mean, however, to contend that there are not other reasons for the peculiarities these American bills present to us when contrasted with those of England; among which a smaller degree of general longevity, in the former than in the latter country, must certainly be included. To this I have already

alluded, and shall but slightly touch upon it at present: it is nevertheless too important to other parts of the argument to be entirely forgotten. I shall therefore give the expectation of life at some of its periods in various parts of Europe and in America, premising that the latter has been calculated since the great improvement in the term of existence has taken place, the former previously to it; a consideration of the highest importance to the comparison.

TABLE XIII.

SHEWING THE EXPECTATION OF LIFE IN SUNDRY PARTS OF EUROPE, AND IN AMERICA, AT THE AGES SPECIFIED.

Ages.	Sweden.	France.	Select Class in France.	Montpelier.	America.
0	35.40	28.76	..	25.36	..
1	42.95	36.35	..	33.15	28.43
20	38.02	34.26	38.56	37.97	28.82
40	24.56	22.89	24.40	25.75	20.29
60	12.63	11.95	11.96	14.43	13.13
80	4.28	4.60	3.82	5.67	6.46

CHAPTER XIII.

OF EMIGRATION TO NORTH AMERICA: ITS EFFECT ON THE GENERAL INCREASE OF THE POPULATION.

(1) A MOST important view of the subject of emigration to America still remains to be taken, that is, its effect, in proportion to its extent, upon the increase of population there; one, which I conceive has been more completely misunderstood, or otherwise misrepresented, than any thing connected with the whole inquiry. This consideration is, therefore, reserved for the concluding part of the present argument. Some of the preceding calculations may possibly be inaccurate, some of the statements overcharged; or, if both should be substantially true, it is not the less unlikely that they should be disputed and contradicted. But the fact which remains to be shewn, is of a nature not very capable of being disproved or evaded; it is self-evident as soon as announced; and, applied to the very lowest of the admissions regarding the extent of emigration, it is fatal to the theory of those, who, pronouncing it to be immaterial, deduce from American increase, the geometric theory of human duplication. The fact to which I advert is this: the great body of emigrants consists of a class, whose increase must, of necessity, be far greater, and more rapid, than that of an equal number of individuals taken fairly and promiscuously from the entire population of a country.

(2) But before entering upon this subject, I will

advert for a moment to the manner in which the theorists with whom I am contending, manage to evade the consequences of emigration. Fixing upon a certain number of inhabitants, at an early period of colonization, they commence and continue their doublings thence, wholly losing sight of all those large accessions to the original number which have been made, and even at an early period, by these subsequent emigrations. It must, however, be evident, even according to their own views, that all these stood, in reference to the principle of population, in the position of original settlers, excepting just so far as the years of the latter, being in advance, would give them the advantage; in all other respects, indeed, the later ones were in circumstances far more favourable to human increase. A proportionate part of the amount to which the whole population has multiplied is, therefore, evidently attributable to these successive additions. This fact, it is presumed, will not be controverted, though I am not aware that it has been ever brought forward.

(3) Emigration, however, begins to be acknowledged, when it is supposed that it can be represented as no longer material to the increase of the population. But its consequences are then as dexterously evaded, as though its existence had continued to be overlooked. The very same reasoners who calculate with such confidence and precision, that in America, the population, generally considered, multiplies in a geometric ratio; argue, regarding emigrants, as though these added to their numbers in arithmetical progression only: or, what amounts to nearly the same thing, they present to us the increase of these accessions in such short terms, as to make it out to be, as

they are anxious to represent it, "immaterial." The fallacy of such a method is evident to the computist as soon as it is mentioned; it is hoped that it can hardly be less so to the less practised inquirer. For example, the sinking fund of this country, had it not been sacrilegiously broken in upon, would, ere long, have annihilated the national incumbrances, though the additional interest upon its annual accession of capital might have been pronounced by similar arguers, "immaterial." Or, to illustrate the deception still more familiarly; the sophism is as glaring, indeed it is quite the same, as though, in comparing the accumulation from two sums at usage, one should be calculated on the principle of compound, and the other on that of simple interest. But I will put the case in the very terms in which it is expressed by the principal advocate of the geometric theory, as founded upon American increase.

(4) "From a return to Congress in 1782," says Mr. Malthus, "the population appeared to be "2,389,000, and in the census of 1790, 4,000,000: "increase in 9 years 1,610,700: from which deduct "10,000 per annum for European settlers, which will "be 90,000; and allow for their increase at 5 per cent. "for 4½ years, which will be 20,500, the remaining "increase during these nine years, from procreation "only, will be 1,500,450, which is very nearly 7 per "cent., and consequently the period of doubling at "this rate, would be less than 16 years." He goes on to say "that the period of doubling has, in particular "districts, been actually shorter, often less than even "15 years[1]."

(5) As the presumed fact on which these calcula-

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 339, note.

tions are founded, is, as Dr. Seybert has himself declared, utterly fallacious[1], and as it will be shewn hereafter, that the periods of doubling pretended to be deduced from them, and far more extended ones, are impossibilities, involving a series of suppositions of the most absurd nature, the passage would not have been noticed, only that it affords an example of the method by which this class of reasoners satisfy themselves and many others, respecting the effects of emigration. The principle of the above calculation is not, indeed, very clear, but what is meant is sufficiently apparent, namely, that emigrants multiply not only in a much slower ratio than natives, but that even that increase, be it whatever it may, is to be estimated by calculating it on short terms only, to the rejection of the effect, present and future, which all previous accessions are producing, and will still continue to produce upon the general increase. Such a method of computation contrives almost to lose sight even of the arithmetical additions which emigrations make to the community to which they are added: it entirely gets rid of their "geometrical ratio" of increase. Truth is indeed reversed in the whole of these suppositions, and in no case so glaringly, as when it is assumed, that the natural multiplication of a body of emigrants is less than that of an equal number of the entire population. The contrary of this is evidently the fact. But these delusions continue to be persisted in, as the following quotations from the same pen, taken from a scientific work recently published, will testify.

(6) "Although," says the article upon population, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, "we can hardly err in defect, if we allow 10,000 a "year for the average increase from emigration,

[1] Dr. Seybert, Statist. Annals of the U. States, pp. 26 and 27.

" during the 25 years, from 1795 to 1820; and ap-
" plying this number to the slowest period of increase
" when the rate was such as to double the population
" in 23 years and seven months, it may be easily cal-
" culated that, in the additional year and five months,
" a population of 5,862,000 would have increased to
" an amount much more than sufficient to cover an
" annual emigration of 10,000 persons *with the increase*
" *from them at the same rate.*"

" *Such an increase from them, however, would not*
" *take place.* It appears from an account in the Na-
" tional Calendar of the United States, for the year
" 1821, that of the 7001 persons who had arrived in
" America, from the 30th of September, 1819, to the
" 30th September, 1820[1], 1959 only were females,
" and the rest, 5042, were males; a proportion
" which, if it approaches towards representing the
" average, must very greatly reduce the number from
" which any increase ought to be calculated." The writer, notwithstanding, in proceeding, allows with great shew of candour, " to all these emigrants an increase
" during the whole period, at the fullest rate, which
" he afterwards fixes at three per cent., a rate which
" would double a population in less than 24 years[2]."

(7) As the above extract from the laboured article in question is supposed to embody the modern theory of population, it is necessary to notice its positions somewhat at large; when it will be seen, that a greater mass of absurdities has been rarely compressed in a like space. In what it denies, and what it admits, it not only equally controverts matter of fact, but entirely subverts the system it defends. The prolificness assigned with an air of liberality to emigrants,

[1] For proof of the incorrectness of this statement, see conclusion of Chap. III. of this Book.

[2] Encyc. Brit. Supplement, vol. vi., p. 310, Art. Population.

consisting, as the great mass of them unquestionably do, of the reproductive class of society, transferred to the same class throughout the country and the world, would doom the human race to speedy decay and extinction; but, given to the entire community, would multiply mankind into unsustainable numbers, a position, indeed, sought to be demonstrated by the article in question; but the admission made in this very paragraph will, on due examination, be found to subvert the supposition altogether. But, of all the mistakes in the whole statement, the conceiving that, because a great majority of emigrants are males, they would add to the general prolificness less than had they been of the other sex, is the most ludicrous, as well as erroneous. We shall attend to each of the foregoing points, though as shortly as possible, because the subject will be partially resumed in a part of the present work more particularly appropriated to the detection of the numerical errors involved in the principle of population now controverted; when it will be shewn, that the accession of a comparatively small number of individuals has an effect upon the general increase hardly supposable by those who have not attended to the subject.

(8) It is obviously true, in the first place, that the period at which emigration takes place is, in a great plurality of cases, that of the prime of life. None become "settlers," to use the word which, of itself, almost amounts to a proof of the fact, in advanced age; and as to the few children that leave with entire families, they have survived the first great peril of existence, infancy, and are, therefore, more likely to live to the reproductive age, and are, indeed, nearer entering upon it than had an equal number been taken promiscuously from the general community.

But, to recur to the main fact, nothing is more certain, than that emigration is almost universally supplied by "single persons in the beginning of mature life[1];" nor, secondly, that such persons, as Dr. Franklin long ago asserted, "marry and raise families[2]."

(9) Nor is this all. It is not more true, that emigrants, generally speaking, consist of individuals in the prime of life, than that "they are the most active and vigorous" of that age, as Dr. Seybert describes them to be. They are, as it respects the principle at issue, a select class, even compared with that of their own age generally considered. Their very object in leaving their native countries is to settle in life, a phrase that needs no explanation; and they do so. No equal number of human beings, therefore, have ever given so large or rapid an increase to a community as "settlers" have invariably done.

(10) But, to identify them merely with the general class to which, in point of age, they belong, or, in other words, with the prolific portion of the community, and to calculate the effect of their addition to a general population accordingly:—Dr. Price has computed that "the prolific part of the community may very well be a fourth of the whole number;" a proportion which, from his own subsequent remarks, it is quite clear he exaggerated. Allowing, however, his supposition to stand, it may be very safely transferred to the emigrant body, in as much as so great a majority of these remove at the early stages of the prolific period, as to fully counterbalance any instances which may occur amongst them of some who have not yet attained to, or who have even survived it; and what, then, is the state

[1] Price, Revers. Payments, vol. i., p. 332.

[2] Franklin, Works, vol. ii., p. 157.

[3] Price, Revers. Payments, vol. i., p. 279.

of the question, in reference to their effect upon human increase? Why this; if they are only equally prolific with others of the same period of life, they are still four times as much so as an entire population generally considered. Our ten thousand emigrants, therefore, produce as great an effect on the general increase, as far as procreation is concerned, ("procreation only,") as would an annual accession of forty thousand individuals, consisting of a just proportion of all ages and of both sexes.

(11) But, on the contrary, to contend that the prolific portion of society, separately considered, who, it is evident, have to replace not merely their own numbers, but those of every other class of the community, only increase in the same proportion as does the entire population, is an error which has but to be pointed out to be instantly detected. Allowing that it were possible for a country to increase its population at the rate of three per cent. per annum, (which I deny,) still to say that the prolific class, by which this augmentation can alone be accomplished, shall only multiply in that ratio, is a contradiction in terms; they must increase at the rate of twelve per cent., in as much as the remaining three-fourths do not multiply at all. An annual increment of three per cent. on the prolific part of the population would speedily consign the whole to destruction. The reproductive class of society, never, in any country, multiplied so slowly, or, in other words, decayed so rapidly, as this would imply: the entire population never augmented so greatly. The error in question, it is conceived, is already sufficiently confuted; it may, however, be detected and exposed in a more familiar way, and by a simple question, which may be propounded to those who argue so strenuously in favour of

the geometric ratio. Do these conceive, while they are contending that an entire population multiplies as they assert, that individuals, in the very first of their prime, as emigrants generally are, wait a quarter of a century before they are the means of adding a single additional individual each to the community? or, to speak more plainly, that in a country where it is said "bachelors are unknown," that the most active and vigorous "portion of the community have not a "child each, in less" (to adopt their own term) "than "twenty-three years and seven months?" If so, emigration is indeed immaterial. But, the idea is absurd; and yet it is this important mistake which lies at the foundation of all the miscalculations that have gone forth respecting the effect of emigration on the population of the United States.

(12) But the most curious discovery in the passage quoted from the Encyclopædia is that which announces that, because a great majority of emigrants are males, even this general rate of increase is to be denied to them. This idea also proceeds from entire misconception. Directly the contrary is again the undoubted truth. This great majority of males implies, of necessity, unmarried males, and these, we know, as well from the dictates of reason and common sense, as from universal observation, are young men in the prime of life. Now, instead of these not causing, according to their numbers, an increase equal to others of the like age in their adopted country, they in effect do so in a two-fold degree. Nothing can gainsay this conclusion, unless it could be proved that American females refuse to ally themselves with European males; or, secondly, that there is a paucity of the former at the nubile age in America; a fact which the census contradicts, as Dr. Sey-

bert has particularly noticed. While, therefore, no native American is deprived of a wife by the accession of these young men, every one of the latter who marries there adds a wedding to the married class of the country; whereas, if the emigrants went forth in equal numbers of both sexes, and were already or subsequently paired amongst themselves, it would obviously demand two to give such an addition. It needs no further observations to shew, that to every such emigrant, under these circumstances, a double degree of individual prolificness is plainly attributable. This fact also, which is too plain to be denied, must enter into the calculation, as to the effect on population of an annual emigration of 10,000 individuals to America; nor is it one which has been overlooked by even American writers themselves. They have not only remarked that by these accessions the whole reproductive power of the country is called forth, but that it is developed, in consequence, at the earliest possible period; "the constant influx of young men, "emigrating from other countries, leading," as they observe, "to early marriage[1]:" indeed, one of not the least judicious of their authorities on the subject, Dr. Seybert, who is deservedly complimented in the very article I am examining, notices particularly, "that the inhabitants of those states have increased "the most rapidly in which there is the greatest pro-"portion of males[2]," and he goes so far as to conceive that the population of the country at large, physically speaking, has derived advantage from these constant admixtures[3].

(13) But it is unnecessary to expose the gross

[1] Dr. Drake, quoted by Warden, Statistical Account of the United States, vol. ii., p. 249.

[2] Dr. Seybert, Statist. Annals, p. 47.

[3] Ibid., p. 52.

error of this encyclopædist any further. The supposition that such individuals as constitute the vast proportion of emigrants would increase no faster than a whole community consisting of all ages and conditions, including therefore a majority of children, far from the period of prolificness, and many of them destined never to attain to it; of the aged, who have long survived that term, to say nothing of that portion of helplessness, disease, and sickness which flesh is heir to, and which, alas! every community contains, is one of the most singular assertions ever hazarded. But the supposition that it would take twenty-three years and seven months, on the average, before one of these would be able to double, is, however, less strange than that, should the individual happen to be a male, (which, as before noticed, is, in a great majority of instances, the case,) it would demand a still longer period to accomplish that event. Such reasoners would have us to believe that it is the accession of queen bees alone which adds prolificness to the American hive, of the perpetual swarmings of which they speak so confidently.

(14) To apply the preceding facts to the construction of a simple computation: and to use the proportion of the sexes of the emigrants given to us in the paragraph already quoted in the way of a formula. Admitting, then, without however crediting the statement, that 10,000 emigrants were the limit of emigration at the period to which Mr. Malthus first adverts; in which number the majority of unmarried males (and more than the mere majority must, of course, be in that condition,) would be 4404; it may be left to the reader to determine how many of these would marry: and it must be recollected that, as these accessions are represented as stationary in number,

the results would be, on the average, annually equal. Let him then determine how many of the remainder, of which 2798 are males, and the same number females, would likewise marry in America; how many of them may be already married, but still in the prolific class; and also how many in the number may be children on their advance to this state. No calculation at which he can reasonably arrive will give him the number of weddings caused by an accession of 10,000 individuals, including that proportion of remaining prolificness which those already married would give to the married class, at so small a sum as 5000.

(15) The next inquiry is, how many weddings were probably contracted by the natives of America at the period referred to. Admitting the white population to have then amounted to 2,000,000, what proportion of that number would be annually married?

(16) In making this computation, the suppositions of Mr. Malthus, Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Warden, must be thrown completely aside, for reasons which will be advanced hereafter: their proportions of 1 marriage in 60, 1 in 50, and 1 in 30 of the inhabitants, being, as will then be shewn, palpable impossibilities, any of them involving this necessary consequence, that more marry in America than are born[1]. Were we to allow that 1 marriage in every 100 of the entire population takes place, we should exaggerate. No statistical documents I have yet seen, even regarding the cities of America, (and marriages are invariably more numerous the more crowded the population, as will be fully proved hereafter,) would warrant such a high proportion. Admitting it, however, to have prevailed throughout the Union, then there would have been 20,000 annual marriages in the United States, at the

[1] See Book III., chap. VI.

period in question, to which, according to the preceding computation, one fourth more, or 5000, would be added, as the effect of emigration. And it will be fully seen in the course of this work that no less an accession could have reconciled the fact of American increase to the physical laws of our nature.

(17) But the effect of such an accession would be still greater than it might be supposed to be from the mere relative addition it makes to the number of the marriages. This fact will be more fully demonstrated hereafter; in the mean time I will select, in proof of it, only one calculation from many that I had constructed, conceiving that even this is, in a great measure, superseded by a clearer method of computing the effect of emigration as given in the succeeding Book of this Treatise. The assumed proportions, that of the marriages, 1 in 108[1]; that of their annual prolificness, 4.38 births each[2] (implying a higher degree of individual prolificness); and, lastly, of the deaths, one half the number of the births[3], are founded on data given

[1] Thus, in the town of Portsmouth, U.S., the weddings were in 1808 and 1809, 125; the population in 1810, 6934; the former to the latter were therefore not quite 1 in 110 annually calculated on the inhabitants a year or two afterward.

In the town of Salem, which it was said contained in 1782 about 9000 inhabitants, the marriages were, in 1781, 70, and in 1782, 84, averaging, therefore, nearly 1 in 117 annually. Brissot, Travels in the United States, pp. 362, 363. 364.

In Philadelphia, the proportion, as reported in 1818, was still smaller.

According to Dr. Barton, however, the marriages were, in the parish of Hingham, 1 in less than a hundred; viz. above 1 in 97; calculated on a period of 54 years, and including, of course, the weddings of emigrants. But as he only guesses at the population during this period, his computation is unsatisfactory. Transactions, American Phil. Soc., vol. iii., p. 30.

The average for the towns of Portsmouth, (U.S.), Salem, and Hingham, Massachusetts, will be 1 marriage in every 108 of the entire number of the inhabitants; which will be adopted in the ensuing calculation.

[2] In the town of Salem there were, in 1781 and 1782, 385 births, illegitimates included, and 154 marriages, or 4.55 to each. Brissot, Travels in the U. States.

In the town of Portsmouth, during 8 years, from 1804 to 1811 inclusive, there were 514 marriages and 2197 births, giving a proportion of 4.27 of the latter to one of the former.

In Hingham, as given by Mr. Barton, the same proportion was for 54 years as 4.32 to 1.

The mean proportion of the three places is 4.38 to 1.

[3] The proportion given by Mr. Barton, Mr. Warden, vol. iii., p. 231, and Baron Humboldt.

in the notes; and they will be shewn to be more favourable to the increase of population than the general laws of Nature warrant.

(18) The following table exhibits the increase of a population, the movements of which should be thus regulated, amounting to 108.00, individuals; and, therefore, starting with one marriage, 4.38 births, and 2.19 deaths.

TABLE XIV.

SHEWING THE INCREASE OF A COMMUNITY IN WHICH THE MARRIAGES ARE AS 1 IN 108 INDIVIDUALS, THE BIRTHS 4.38 TO EACH MARRIAGE, AND THE DEATHS HALF THE NUMBER OF THE BIRTHS.

Year.	Inhabitants.	Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.	Total.
1	108.00	1.00	4.38	2.19	2.19	110.19
2	110.19	1.02	4.46	2.23	2.23	112.42
3	112.42	1.04	4.55	2.27	2.27	114.70
4	114.70	1.06	4.65	2.32	2.33	117.03
5	117.03	1.08	4.73	2.36	2.37	119.40
6	119.40	1.11	4.86	2.43	2.43	121.83
7	121.83	1.13	4.95	2.48	2.47	124.30
8	124.30	1.15	5.03	2.51	2.52	126.82
9	126.82	1.17	5.12	2.56	2.56	129.38
10	129.38	1.20	5.25	2.63	2.62	132.00
11	132.00	1.22	5.34	2.67	2.67	134.67
12	134.67	1.25	5.48	2.74	2.74	137.41
13	137.41	1.27	5.56	2.78	2.78	140.19
14	140.19	1.30	5.69	2.84	2.85	143.04
15	143.04	1.32	5.78	2.89	2.89	145.93
16	145.93	1.35	5.91	2.95	2.96	148.89
17	148.89	1.38	6.04	3.02	3.02	151.91
18	151.91	1.40	6.13	3.06	3.07	154.98
19	154.98	1.43	6.26	3.13	3.13	158.11
20	158.11	1.46	6.39	3.19	3.19	161.30
21	161.30	1.49	6.52	3.26	3.26	164.56
22	164.56	1.52	6.65	3.32	3.33	167.89
23	167.89	1.55	6.78	3.39	3.39	171.28
24	171.28	1.59	6.96	3.48	3.48	174.76
25	174.76	1.62	7.09	3.54	3.55	178.31
26	178.31	1.65	7.22	3.61	3.61	181.92
27	181.92	1.68	7.36	3.68	3.68	185.60
28	185.60	1.72	7.53	3.76	3.77	189.37
29	189.37	1.75	7.66	3.83	3.83	193.20
30	193.20	1.79	7.84	3.92	3.92	197.12
31	197.12	1.82	7.97	3.98	3.99	201.11
32	201.11	1.86	8.14	4.07	4.07	205.18
33	205.18	1.90	8.32	4.16	4.16	209.34
34	209.34	1.94	8.49	4.24	4.25	213.59
35	213.59	1.98	8.67	4.33	4.34	217.93

(19) The preceding table might have been calculated with more mathematical exactness by another method, but it would not have exemplified the progress of population thus increased, so familiarly; it is, however, quite accurate enough for the purpose of shewing that it would take a period of nearly 35 years to double a population, in which the marriages are as 1 in 108, the births double the number of deaths, and 4.38 to each marriage. In this table, it will be perceived, that the births are to the population as 1 in every 24.65, and the deaths 1 in 49.3; whereas Warden himself estimates the deaths in the United States at 1 in 40; and though he conceives the births to be twice as numerous, all the facts we are in possession of contradict him. In the places before referred to in the notes, the births give, in no instance, so great a proportion. In a statistical account of the State of New York, I find them amounting to 1 in 26.77. It is needless to say how much all the proportions in the table exceed those which prevail in Europe[1].

(20) The following table exhibits the effect which a stationary number of emigrants would have upon the increase of population, commencing with so low a proportion as a two hundredth part of the native inhabitants; supposing that only $\frac{22}{54}$ of that proportion directly caused a marriage each, and that the remainder were composed of a promiscuous number of both sexes, and of all ages.

[1] "Depuis le 40e degré de latitude jusqu'au 65e, c'est-à-dire, sur une ligne qui s'étend de Lisbonne à Stockholm, en embrassant une étendue de mille lieues environ, et sur une population de 65 millions d'individus, qui habitent le Portugal, le royaume de Naples, de France, l'Angleterre, la Prusse, le Danemark, et la Suède, la proportion des décès est de 1 sur 40.3;

Celle des naissances, de 1 sur 30.1;

Celle des mariages, de 1 sur 123.3,

Et la fécondité de 4 enfans par mariage."—Benoiston de Chateauneuf, Bul. Univers. Géog. et Statistique, vol vi., p. 169.

TABLE XV.

EXHIBITING THE EFFECT OF EMIGRATION ON THE INCREASE OF POPULATION.

Year.	Native Inhabitants.	Promiscuous Accession.	Promiscuous Population.	Marriages in that Number.	Marriages of Emigrants.	Total Marriages.	Births.	Deaths.	Difference.	Proportion of Emigration.	Total, including Increase and Emigration.
0	108.00	32	108.32	100	22	122	534	267	267	$\frac{1}{200}$	111.21
1	111.21	32	111.53	103	22	125	548	274	274	$\frac{1}{206}$	114.49
2	114.49	32	114.81	106	22	128	561	280	281	$\frac{1}{212}$	117.84
3	117.84	32	118.16	109	22	131	574	287	287	$\frac{1}{218}$	121.25
4	121.25	32	121.57	112	22	134	587	293	294	$\frac{1}{224}$	124.73
5	124.73	32	125.05	116	22	138	604	302	302	$\frac{1}{230}$	128.29
6	128.29	32	128.61	119	22	141	618	309	309	$\frac{1}{237}$	131.92
7	131.92	32	132.24	122	22	144	631	316	315	$\frac{1}{244}$	135.61
8	135.61	32	135.93	126	22	148	648	324	324	$\frac{1}{251}$	139.38
9	139.38	32	139.70	130	22	152	666	333	333	$\frac{1}{258}$	143.25
10	143.25	32	143.67	133	22	155	679	339	340	$\frac{1}{265}$	147.19
11	147.19	32	147.51	137	22	159	696	348	348	$\frac{1}{272}$	151.21
12	151.21	32	151.53	140	22	162	710	355	355	$\frac{1}{280}$	155.30
13	155.30	32	155.62	144	22	166	727	363	364	$\frac{1}{288}$	159.48
14	159.48	32	159.80	148	22	170	745	372	373	$\frac{1}{295}$	163.75
15	163.75	32	164.07	152	22	174	762	381	381	$\frac{1}{303}$	168.10
16	168.10	32	168.42	156	22	178	780	390	390	$\frac{1}{311}$	172.54
17	172.54	32	172.86	160	22	182	797	399	398	$\frac{1}{319}$	177.06
18	177.06	32	177.38	164	22	186	815	407	408	$\frac{1}{328}$	181.68
19	181.68	32	182.00	169	22	191	836	418	418	$\frac{1}{336}$	186.40
20	186.40	32	186.72	173	22	195	854	427	427	$\frac{1}{345}$	191.21
21	191.21	32	191.53	177	22	199	872	436	436	$\frac{1}{354}$	196.11
22	196.11	32	196.43	182	22	204	894	447	447	$\frac{1}{363}$	201.12
23	201.12	32	201.44	187	22	209	915	457	458	$\frac{1}{372}$	206.34
24	206.34	32	206.66	191	22	213	933	467	466	$\frac{1}{382}$	211.54
25	211.54	32	211.86	196	22	218	955	478	477	$\frac{1}{391}$	216.85
											$\frac{1}{400}$

(21) Thus is the assertion, that emigration is immaterial to the increase of the population in America, disposed of, when divested of the false facts and reasonings by which it has been accompanied, and reduced to a mere arithmetical calculation. The former of the two preceding tables shews that a community, placed under the circumstances predicated, more favourable to increase, perhaps, than any in existence, independently of foreign accessions, would not double its numbers in less than five-and-thirty years; the latter, which continues the very same computations, shews that an annual addition of little more, on the average, than a three-hundredth part, would double, thus replenished, in five-and-twenty years. I may repeat, that the amount thus added is the precise proportion dictated by Mr. Malthus; and when it is recollected, that of the 10,000 emigrants who are said to remove to America annually, it is also agreed by him, in a passage quoted in this chapter, that above 7000 would be males, in assigning to the entire number little more than four thousand marriages, it will not be thought that I can have erred on the side of excess. My opinion is, that these proportions give too small an increase to the population as the effect of emigration, exemplified in the latter of the two preceding tables; and that, in the former one, the period of doubling, protracted as it is, compared with the one so confidently assumed, is still far too rapid to result from procreation only; a conclusion, which, I think, will be demonstrated hereafter.

(22) In conclusion: the foregoing proportions are not, as has been already observed, arbitrary assumptions of my own, to answer the purpose of this particular argument; on the contrary, as it respects those which concern natural increase, they have been taken

from authorities who are quite eager enough to prove that their "country possesses, in a superior degree, an "inherent, radical, and lasting source of national vi- "gour and greatness[1]," to quote the language of one of them. Then again, regarding emigration, another class of writers, as fully bent as the Americans in shewing it to be "immaterial" to the present increase of their population, have themselves dictated the facts which have been made the basis of the calculation, as to its effects; only that I think I have kept far within the proportion of marriages resulting from that cause, (and that is the point of chief importance,) which their own admissions and assertions warrant. All uncertainties, however, would have been avoided, had the statistics of the United States afforded the necessary information. If the authorities there had been as anxious to record the importations of men as of merchandise, the present dispute could never have existed. Had the due performance of the rites of Christianity been provided for by law, without (if it so pleased them) prescribing uniformity in their celebration, the registry of marriages, births, and burials would have decided the most important of the points at issue. An establishment, moreover, which should have secured the universality and perpetuity of Christian worship, would have repaid a thousand-fold its expense, in the additional decency and comfort it would have conferred upon the entire community. Those who would persuade us, that it is unnecessary to provide for religious tuition and worship, and still are loud in their praises of the compulsory establishment of an institution of far less national importance, that of schools, throughout the Union; asserting, that the former may be safely left to individual feelings, but

[1] Barton, American Phil. Transact., vol. iii., p. 26.

that the latter cannot, argue either as infidels or enthusiasts; if merely as the latter, they argue against facts. The best writers America has yet produced have deplored the state of things to which this circumstance has naturally and inevitably led. Dr. Dwight mentions the immense tracts of settled country where all the national institutions are fully organized, where every thing else prospers, but where the public worship of Almighty GOD is unknown. Bristed says, that "full one third of the population are destitute of all religious ordinances[1]." And we learn from other sources, that even in many places where Christian worship has been already established, that it has been suspended or abandoned in consequence of a want of ministers; a want which will continue and increase till an adequate provision is made for them, or the feelings which govern human beings are no longer operative[2]. I deplore this state of things, not as the advocate of that particular form of religion which I may prefer, but as a friend to Christianity; any public profession of which is as preferable to none, as light is to darkness. The sacred function, which adds learning, decency, and dignity to society, to say nothing of its infinitely more important duties, is, in the light of political philosophy even, quite as important an office as that of the mere schoolmaster, the highest order of which, moreover, that profession constantly supplies. But I am diverging from the subject which has so long been pressed upon the attention of the reader,—Emigration. While discussing it, the pathetic description of Goldsmith, the poet of Nature

[1] Bristed, America and her Resources, p. 423.

[2] "One of the evils which most affect "the different denominations of Chris-"tians in the United States, is the po-"verty of the ministers. There were "lately more than 2000 congregations "vacant, and yet the different seminaries "only furnish 200 ministers annually. "The void, instead of diminishing, must "still extend."—Bul. Universel, vol. v., p. 79.

and of truth, aye, and of true political philosophy, has often occurred to my mind, and especially now; and I cannot forbear regretting that the exiles he so touchingly describes in their adopted home beyond the western main, have not found his village pastor, to fix the principles of their youth, to guide their conduct in the active scenes of life, and to administer consolation in its last moments. The want of registers in America has unintentionally led to these reflections, which I hope some will not think entirely misplaced in a work of which the object is to promote and secure the happiness of human beings, and to assert the claim of a merciful and all-sufficient Providence upon their constant and solemn adoration.

CHAPTER XIV.

OF EMIGRATION TO AMERICA: CALCULATED ON THE ADMISSION OF THOSE WHO ASSERT IT TO BE "IMMATERIAL."

(1) LASTLY, I shall shew, from the direct admission of those who assert and argue to the contrary, that emigration has been the main instrument in the multiplication of the population of America, and consequently that the proof of their theory, as founded upon the latter, entirely fails.

(2) The passages already quoted in the preceding chapter from Mr. Malthus's Essay, and the article on Population in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, equally admit an annual emigration to the amount of ten thousand individuals. The former attributes to them an increase of five per cent. per annum; for which rate, however, the latter substitutes one of three per cent. per annum, which is asserted to be the ratio of increase, as it respects the entire community, and is therefore conceded with an affectation of great liberality to the emigrants also. Emigration, however, is still declared to be "immaterial" to the increase of the population, which, it is argued, would, without such an accession, double itself in less than twenty-five years.

(3) One of these articles professes to calculate the effect of emigration from 1782 to 1790; the other from 1795 to 1820; we shall, however, accept neither term, unless it can be shewn that emigration com-

menced and terminated with either; which those who put them forth are well aware is not the case. On the contrary, we have already proved the existence of emigration, and to a vast extent, a century and a half previous, not only from the mother country, in which it awakened the fears of the statesmen and patriots of those days, but from other nations, more particularly from Germany; and it would be as false and as fruitless to call into question these facts, as it would to deny that Anglo-America was originally peopled by emigration. It has been shewn, in particular, from existing records, that prior to the earliest of these dates (1782), several hundred thousand emigrants had found their way into that reservoir of human existence, though, in all reason, it may be concluded that the actual number greatly exceeded the recorded one. The men who led the battles of America, the patriots who advocated her cause, the citizens who bled in its defence, would, few of them (would any?) have existed, had it not been for emigration during the period embraced in this inquiry. To calculate, in the manner we have seen, the effect of emigration, from its supposed effect between the years 1782 and 1790, is an equal insult upon truth and upon common sense.

(4) But it must be admitted, that previous to these periods, the vast afflux of people to the colonies of America is no where denied. Let us, therefore, see what would be the effect of such an annual addition as the anti-populationists give, 10,000, with the increase they now allow upon it, three per cent. per annum, in the course of a single century, upon the population of that country: what is the proportion of its present inhabitants which their own admission implies.

(5) Ten thousand individuals, with an annual

accession to the same amount, and an increase of three per cent. per annum upon the whole, would, in the space of one hundred years only, be far from "immaterial." They would amount, I think, as calculated by logarithms, at the termination of that period, to 6,752,666, out of the 7,861,710 individuals who constituted the total of the white population in 1820, or nearly nine tenths of the whole; a number which leaves 1,109,044 as the share of the population from procreation only; and which would give a doubling from natural causes of once in 50 instead of once in 25 years; a conclusion which, whether critically exact or not, is, I am sure, and will subsequently shew, to be nearer to truth than the latter is to possibility.

(6) But supposing we were to say, contrary to fact and evidence, that not more than 5000 had annually proceeded to America from all parts of the world within the last century, would the half of the former sum, namely, 3,376,333, thus added to the population of the country from internal procreation, raising the latter, therefore, from 4,485,377 to 7,861,710, be immaterial? This calculation would lengthen the period of doubling in America to about 35 years, agreeably to the former table in the preceding chapter. And this I am convinced is a far more rapid duplication than has ever taken place in that country from "procreation only."

(7) Emigration to America did not, however, commence with the year 1720; on the contrary, thousands were annually proceeding to that country half a century before that period. Let, then, those who are the most anxious to prove emigration "immaterial," commence a century and a half previously to 1820, and fix upon the smallest number of such accessions which

authentic accounts will warrant, increasing its amount when Ireland began to send forth thousands yearly, and Germany added such numbers to the population of the colonies, that Franklin feared the institutions and even language of his country would be superseded; I say, let the theorists themselves fix upon the annual number of these perpetual accessions, and calculate their increase after the same rate as that of the natives, (for their prolificness cannot be imagined less, and, it is well known, their longevity has been invariably greater,) and they will then see clearly enough the great share that these constant and vast additions have had in peopling that part of the new world. The lowest estimates which they can venture to put forth cannot co-exist with the theory which they wish to found upon the increase of the population of North America.

(8) If, however, instead of entering upon such a computation, they are disposed rather to withdraw the admissions upon which the preceding one is founded, it will nevertheless be of no avail to their cause. And this brings me to the last argument I have to advance in proof of the existence of emigration, and its influence on the increase of the inhabitants of the United States; and it is a reason which, in every sense of the word, ought to be a conclusive one. It is this: even admitting the existence of the geometric theory, which will hereafter be disproved, still the slowest period of duplication, which it is contended takes places in the United States, is, consistently with the irreversible laws of Nature as established throughout the world, AN IMPOSSIBILITY. Emigration, therefore, must have partly produced the results which are known to exist. But this view of the subject is so important to the general

argument, that it will be pursued in a succeeding part of this work, when the possible periods, in which communities may naturally double, will be distinctly considered. In the mean time, I will venture to repeat, that the geometrical theory, however applied, is not true, and that its slowest period of doubling, as founded upon American increase, is impossible.

(9) I have now concluded my remarks on the population of the United States till I shall shortly resume the subject in another part of this treatise, for the purpose of proving and illustrating, by a reference to the statistics of that interesting and important part of the world, a more cheering principle than that which has been attempted to be established. I have, I am aware, gone into the argument at much length, though I have omitted at least one half of what I had prepared myself to offer on the occasion; including a series of tables, proving the fallacies that have been held regarding American increase, especially those of Dr. Franklin. That part of the argument, however, will be resumed, in a more general form, in some of the first chapters of the ensuing Book. As the theory, which it is the object of this treatise to disprove, is founded solely on the supposed facts which the country in question furnishes, it appeared necessary to enter into their examination with considerable care and attention; and it seemed, under these circumstances, preferable to run the risk of being tedious rather than unsatisfactory. With the confidence that truth generally inspires, I feel convinced that the latter will not be the case; in which conviction I trust the reader will concur, when he reviews the whole argument, which for his convenience is thus abridged.

(10) The theory that mankind would double, at

the very slowest rate of increase, by procreation only, in five-and-twenty years, is founded upon the supposed increase of various colonies of America, and, finally, upon the growth of the entire population of the United States, which, it is asserted, have doubled, on the lowest calculation, in that term, and many much more rapidly, independently of foreign emigration.

(11) In refutation of this position, it has been shewn, that none of the States instanced have ever so doubled in any part of their history; that the population of New England in particular, as well as that of the remaining colonies, at the period whence these doublings are dated, has been grossly understated, and that there are not, in reality, half the number of white inhabitants now in the United States that the theory demands, had not a single emigrant proceeded to that country; that, on the contrary, a vast and incessant afflux of emigrants has proceeded to America, first from England, but, very early afterward, from the remaining parts of the British empire, and from every country of Europe; that, so far from this emigration having been immaterial in its effects, it has influenced, in every possible way, the manners, customs, habits, religion, and even language, of the various States; has shewn its presence by every species of statistical evidence, excepting that of direct enumeration; that, more satisfactorily even than by such a mode, it has manifested its extent, by altering the natural proportion of the sexes, and the classifications of society throughout; has varied the established proportions of nature, as it respects the ages of the living in the censuses and of the dead in the registers of mortality: and, finally, to epitomize the argument no further, it has been proved, from the

very admissions of those who are anxious to demonstrate to the contrary, that emigration has been the main cause of that rapid increase in the population of America, on which alone they build their entire system.

(12) Do I deny, then, that the inhabitants of the colonies of America, now the United States, have also increased rapidly by internal generation, as well as by these foreign accessions? By no means: on the contrary, such a supposition would be adverse to the principle of population, which, it will be seen in the sequel, I wish to establish. I may express my opinion in the words of the philosopher of that country, that American increase is, undoubtedly, very rapid, but that "it becomes more so by the accession of "strangers[1];" or of its geographer, who says, "that their numbers rapidly increase, both by emi-"grations from Europe, and by natural population[2];" and that the community, therefore, "is composed of "people of almost all nations, languages, characters, "and religions[3];" or, lastly, in the language of one of the first and best of its statistical writers, who, in replying to the very query we are now answering, says, that the vast increase in their population has been derived, "in great numbers, from various parts "of Europe, by incessant streams of emigration[4]."

[1] Dr. Franklin, Works, vol. ii., p. 157.
[2] Dr. Morse, Geog., p. 63.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Coxe, View of the United States, p. 202.

CHAPTER XV.

OF THE POPULATION OF CHINA: THE GENERAL ARGUMENTS FOUNDED ON ITS SUPPOSED DENSITY, STATED AND DISPROVED.

(1) I COME now to the consideration of China, which, of all countries in the world, is supposed to present the strongest evidence of the superfecundity of human beings. Nay, so frequently and so confidently have the advocates of that doctrine appealed to China in its support, that the very mention of its name brings with it the idea of extensive population, with its supposed concomitants, universal vice and misery. In America, their geometric theory of human duplication is represented as being in full progress; in China, as being consummated;—checked and arrested by those terrible correctives, the very mention of which fills the heart with mingled horror and disgust. Happily, however, neither representation is true. That regarding America has been already shewn to be otherwise; it will be an easier task to prove that respecting China to be a still grosser fiction.

(2) It is a curious, though a painful, subject, to reflect upon the uses which the very imperfect information we have had, at least till of late, regarding the latter country has been eagerly applied. A number of persons from the heart of Europe, as Malte-Brun has well oberved, have busied themselves in raising encomiums upon China[1]; generally, however,

[1] Malte-Brun, l. xliv., p. 607.

in order to further some favourite view. One while it was the constant theme of infidelity, because it was supposed to afford a standing refutation of the Mosaic records, and, by consequence, of Christianity. Its history was stated to stretch out some fifteen thousand years beyond the biblical era of the creation; and the absurdity of supposing that the rest of mankind remained so many millenniums without advancing in knowledge, or either inventing or acquiring the means of perpetuating historical facts, was wholly overlooked in favour of the preposterous pretensions of one of the most ignorant and mendacious people upon earth. This delusion has passed away, though it is to be doubted whether the effects it produced, when urged by such men as Voltaire, have subsided. Now, however, the same country has become the very paradise of our anti-populationists, in which, as they suppose, their theory luxuriates in its full vigour and maturity. Hence the very mention of China is held sufficient to prove that the starving wretch, whose sole crime is that of having a family, has not the least claim, as of right, to the smallest portion of food, and that the law which concedes it to him is absurd in itself, and mischievous in its consequences. The encouragements to marriage are pointed out in that empire, and brought home to our own; and the consequences are so represented, as to shew that, whether the institution be that of Nature and of GOD, or otherwise, it is wholly irreconcileable with human happiness, except so repressed as to comport with the views of these writers. It were superfluous to shew the unhappy influence which this perpetual appeal to the experience of so vast a portion of the human race must have upon the principles and feelings of those who credit it, or to assert the duty of dispelling so gross and pernicious a delusion. At all

events, the present work would be obviously incomplete without attempting to do so.

(3) If any department of knowledge accessible to human beings has been progressively enlarged and illustrated, it is, undoubtedly, geography; and at the very outset of an inquiry like the present, and concerning a country which, though hitherto inadequately known, is still far more so than it was till very recently, it seems not a little suspicious, that the early accounts are relied upon, and false as many, and marvellous as the whole of them are, that they should be preferred to much later and more authentic information. The author to whom I shall still principally attend has, indeed, made a few references to Sir George Staunton, who had, confessedly, very limited means of information, and was greatly imposed upon by the representations of the natives; but to this hour he has made not the slightest mention of Barrow, Ellis, Abel, and others, who have rectified many of the statements made by the former author. But even Staunton is only quoted in proof of the great fertility and general and judicious cultivation of the soil, and of the universal encouragement of marriage; of agriculture; and a few other similar topics. But when the evils of the principle of population have to be demonstrated from this empire, other authorities are exclusively consulted. The writers of the "Edifying and Curious Letters," published, as we are told, to fan the devotions of a Maintenon, are still to pourtray to us an empire which many of our own scientific countrymen have traversed and described within these few years past. Even before better information was obtained, no one thought theirs was worthy of implicit credit. Duhalde himself, whose history was principally made up of a careful selection from them, mentions in the

outset[1] their want of exactness and precision, and accuses them elsewhere of exaggeration[2], which Lord Macartney particularly notices[3]. The former, however, presents in their behalf this most weighty excuse: "They had," he said, "only seen the finest and most "populous provinces, and hence their exaggerations "as to the number of the inhabitants[4]." Barrow speaks of these "reverend gentlemen[5]" and "their pleasant stories" in less exculpatory terms[6]; though not so plainly as does Adam Smith, who denominates them, at once, "stupid and lying missionaries[7]," who, nevertheless, as another author observes, "contrived to "impose upon Europeans their absurd and ridiculous "notions[8]." Perhaps, however, they were generally "weak and credulous[9]," as Malte-Brun describes them, rather than wilfully mendacious. And they had the apology frequently of knowing little of the subject on which they wrote; thus, one of them, F. Attiret, describing his journey, thus expresses himself: "Half the way we came by water, and both ate "and lodged in our boats. We were not allowed to "go ashore, or even to look out of the windows of our "covered boats to observe the face of the country as "we passed along. We made the latter part of our "journey in a sort of cage, which they were pleased "to call a litter. In this, too, we were shut up all "the day long, and, at night, carried to our inns, "(and very wretched inns they are,) and thus we got "to Pekin, with our curiosity quite unsatisfied, and "with seeing but very little more than if one had been

[1] Duhalde, China, pref.
[2] Ibid., vol. i., p. 240.
[3] Macartney, Journal of an Embassy, &c., p. 432.
[4] Duhalde, China, vol. i., p. 240.
[5] Barrow, Travels in China, pp. 518, 519.
[6] Ibid., p. 441.
[7] Smith, Wealth of Nations, vol. iii., c. i., p. 123.
[8] Maitland, Hist. of London, vol. ii., p. 751.
[9] Malte-Brun, Geog., l. xlvii., p. 550.

"shut up all the while in one's own chamber. Indeed, "they say the country we passed is but a bad country, "and that though the journey is near 2000 miles, "there is but little that might deserve much atten- "tion[1]." Some of these writers, who had sent home such exaggerated accounts as those whence the statements I shall allude to were selected, saw their error subsequently, and rectified it; nor have the retractations of such been entirely suppressed. Thus, F. Chavagnac writes to F. Gobien, "All China does "not answer the notion I had at first conceived of it. "I had seen some parts only of the province of Canton "when I sent you so magnificent a description of it. "I had scarce travelled four days journey up the "country, before I could see nothing but steep moun- "tains and dreadful deserts, full of tigers and other "wild beasts. Between Nangan and Cantcheou-fou, "there is nothing but deserts," &c.[2] This talk about wild beasts, in a country represented as so unmercifully over-peopled, reminds me of a similar account of Sir George Staunton, who, in his limited observation of the best parts of the country, talks of seeing wild horses scampering along[3], a descriptive circumstance, perfectly conclusive as to the state of the population.

(4) Such, then, are the authorities (and even their information is garbled) from whom it appears we are to derive our ideas of the present condition of the inhabitants of China, to the rejection of those who have written a century later: during which time, if the principle of population which is thus to be supported had been true, the pressure of misery which it would have created must have been still on the in-

[1] Lettres Edif. et Curieuses, F. Attiret, t. xxvii.

[2] Letters, Edifying and Curious, of certain Missionaries, p. 177.

[3] Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 176.

crease [1], and the last evidence, therefore, the most conclusive.

(5) Before we proceed to shew the real state of the question in relation to that empire, we must briefly present the description of its situation by the anti-populationists; derived, it is true, from two very different sources, the information from which runs often in opposite directions, but still it is so selected and combined as to "work together" in their proof of the evils resulting from the principle of population, of which they thus constitute China one of the most hopeless and dismal examples.

(6) In the first place, we have a country immense in its extent, containing, in all probability, at least one thousand millions of acres [2]; the soil of which, considering this extent of surface, is probably wholly unrivalled [3], yielding, in many of its provinces, double harvests [4], and in some, we are informed, even three crops in the year [5]. We are told further, that agriculture is greatly encouraged, and the pursuit honoured, and even venerated: that the whole surface of the country is, with trifling exceptions, under culture, and dedicated, moreover, to the production of food for man alone; there being no meadows, very little pasture, nor are the fields cultivated for the support of

[1] Malte-Brun thus sums up the less recent authorities on the subject of China. "Since that period," (that of Vasco de Gama's successors,) "we owe our knowledge to some ambassadors who have seen the court and the great roads; to some merchants who have inhabited a suburb in a frontier town; and to a considerable number of missionaries who have penetrated the country in every direction, and who, being considered as credulous admirers, though artless narrators, inspired little confidence in their judgment; so that the world was left to guess at the truth of numerous facts which these well-meaning persons were ill-qualified to appreciate."—Geog., l. xlvii., p. 550.

[2] Ency. Brit., Sup.

[3] No place in the world like China for fertility.—Le Compte, China, p. 100. Grosier, l. iv., c. 3., p. 391. All the advantages of climate, soil, and production, have been lavished here by Nature with an unsparing hand.—Lord Macartney's Journal, p. 340.

[4] Le Compte, China, p. 95. Grosier, China, l. iv., c. 3., p. 391. Von Braam, Dutch Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 284.

[5] F. Premare, Lett. Edif. et Curieuses, p. 112.

cattle of any kind: that there are no commons or lands suffered to lie waste by the neglect, or the caprice, or for the sport of great proprietors: that there is little land appropriated even for roads, which are few and narrow: that there are no fallows; the earth, under a hot and fertilizing sun, yielding annually, in most instances, (as before observed,) double crops, in consequence of adapting the culture to the soil, and of supplying its defects by mixing it up with other earths; by irrigation, and by careful and judicious husbandry of every sort: that agricultural pursuits are so universal, that even soldiers are cultivators; and that the quantity of subsistence is also increased by converting more species of animals and vegetables to that purpose than is usual in other countries[1]: that the prodigious quantity of human food so produced, is again rendered available to a far greater number than in this or any other European country; numbers having the advantage of living together, like soldiers in a mess, adopting the greatest economy in the management of their provisions, and reducing themselves to the use of vegetable food, with a very rare and scanty relish of any animal substance[2]. This parsimony brings us to another part of the same picture.

(7) Notwithstanding all this fertility, intelligence, industry, frugality, the inhabitants, it appears, do not subsist in the least degree of comfort. On the contrary, according to our authority, a third part of the people would, after all, hardly find sufficient rice to support themselves properly[3]; consequently the labouring part of the population (there almost the only class) is pressed down to the most abject state of poverty. In a word, a Chinese, we are told, will pass

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, pp. 148, 149.
[2] Ibid., p. 151.
[3] Ibid., quoted from Premare, p. 152.

whole days in digging the earth, sometimes up to the knees in water, and in the evening is happy to eat a little spoonful of rice, and to drink the insipid water in which it was boiled, and this is all they have in general[1]. Another consequence of this universal penury and distress is said to be, that the most loathsome food is eagerly and habitually accepted[2].

(8) Nor does all this suffice. The still redundant numbers have to be repressed: hence, among other dreadful calamities which are enumerated, dearths and famines are said to be the most powerful of all the positive checks to the Chinese population[3]; and did not these, from time to time, thin the immense number of inhabitants which China contains, it would be impossible for her to live in peace[4]. I will not distress the reader by copying the description given of them. The wretches, in an afflicted province, it appears, die with hunger before national benevolence reaches them[5]; while those who do not wait for the last extremity, crawl, as well as they can, into other districts, where they hope to get support; but leave the greatest part of their number dead upon the road[6]: and, as it is said elsewhere, to the check of famine that of pestilence is also added, which is represented as sometimes so to prevail, that "the roads are found covered with "dead bodies, which infect the air to a great distance[7]."

(9) But the unnatural and horrible cruelty which the misery arising from excess of numbers is described to occasion, is the most revolting part of the whole picture. I do not allude to the selling of wives and children[8], or to the alleged murder of the aged by

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 153.
[2] Ibid., p. 151. "Any animal substance."
[3] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 158.
[4] Ibid., p. 159.
[5] Ibid. p. 159.
[6] Ibid., p. 160.
[7] Ibid., p. 155.
[8] Ibid., p. 154.

the young, to save them from the agonies of a dilatory death[1], but to that infanticide on which the main authority quoted dwells so perpetually, without, however, estimating its extent. He says, the number of victims depends very much upon the seasons[2], and adds; "after any great epidemic or destructive famine, "the number is probably very small; it is natural "that it should increase gradually on the return to a "crowded population, and is, without doubt, the "greatest when an unfavourable season takes place, "at a period in which the average produce is already "insufficient to support the overflowing multitude[3]." I will not follow this writer through all his reasonings upon this subject, which, I confess, fill my mind with the deepest indignation; I will only add, that from the extreme poverty of the lower classes, (in all countries the immense majority, and, on his shewing, particularly in China,) he argues that, if they were not deterred from entering into the marriage state, under the certainty of being obliged to expose all their children, or to sell themselves and families as slaves, such a certainty would often present itself[4]. But the lower classes do marry, otherwise the population, be its amount whatever it may, would instantly sink, and soon become extinct. The inference, therefore, is certain; and a horrible one it is, to be fixed upon one of the first institutions of civilization and Christianity —marriage.

(10) Can any thing darken this condition of human nature? Yes; its utter hopelessness! In a country cultivated as represented, where the population has been habituated by degrees to live almost upon the smallest quantity of food[5], the average produce

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 159.
[2] Ibid., p. 158.
[3] Ibid., p. 158.
[4] Ibid., p. 154.
[5] Ibid., p. 151.

of which is barely sufficient to support the lives of the inhabitants[1], where wealth is stationary, and the soil cultivated nearly to the utmost[2], not the slightest prospect of relief awaits the great mass of the people, whose increase of numbers "has not only been," as we are further told, "an addition of so much "pure misery in itself, but has completely interrupted "the happiness which the rest might have enjoyed[3]." And all this misery, crime, and suffering is attributed to the principle of population; and it is represented to have overtaken, in this instance, one-third of the existing race of man. Merciful GOD! can such facts be true? Can such a principle be that of Providence? No: and, happily for human beings, there is not the slightest possibility that they should. The several statements in the whole of this miserable representation of China refute each other.

(11) First; the cause assigned for all this suffering and crime is neither adequate nor true. It is stated that the population amounts to 333,000,000[4]. This account, of which more hereafter, no longer imposes upon the world; but admitting, for the present, its accuracy, how occasions that number the evils attributed exclusively to it? The following facts, given in other words than my own, and on good authority, will decide the question. "China," says the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, in an article upon that country, "consists of at least one "million and a half of square miles. Deduct one-"third of this for waste lands, lakes, and mountains, "and 640 millions of acres still remain[5]." Barrow says of the same empire, that "an acre of land, with

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 152.
[2] Ibid., p. 131.
[3] Ibid., p. 153.
[4] Ibid., p. 146.
[5] Encyc. Brit., Supplement, Art. China, vol. iii., p. 102.

" proper culture, will afford a supply of rice for ten " persons, for a whole year, in the southern provinces; " and sufficient for the consumption of five, in the " northern, allowing each person two pounds a-day: " while an acre of cotton will clothe 200 or 300 per- " sons[1]." These facts shew us that, cultivated to the utmost, China would clothe and feed five times as many human beings as probably inhabit the whole world: a very different calculation, in all respects, to that of Brother Premare, who represents a Chinese happy in obtaining, for the most abject labour, a little spoonful of rice per day, with the water in which it is boiled, and still that there is not rice enough to support a third part of the population; nor is the country, according to his notion, a fourth part of the size which it ought to be to contain its inhabitants[2].

(12) Ridiculous as are these assertions and arguments, they nevertheless continue to be put forth, and especially by Mr. Malthus, in proof of the excess of Chinese population; though, admitting its amount to be as high as stated, it is, in proportion to its size, much less densely peopled than England. Certainly it is unnecessary to point out the difference the latter exhibits in the relative consumption of food both by men and animals. The comparison instantly ends the argument; which, however, ought never to have been started from such facts, had they even been true. " There is no want of land," as Mr. Barrow has observed, " to support the assumed population of 333 " millions;" and, fully aware of the contrary notion[3], he adds, " the population is not yet arrived at a level " with the means the country affords of subsistence[4]." Mr. Malthus asserts most peremptorily to the con-

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, pp. 577, 578.
[2] Travels of the Jesuits, vol. i., p. 81.
[3] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 579.
[4] Ibid., p. 578.

trary. There is little difficulty of determining between these authorities.

(13) But "this total of 333 millions," which, as observed in the Bulletin Universel, "has been blindly "adopted and repeated by the English writers, as for "instance, by Guthrie in his Geography, by Malthus "in his work on Population, and by some French," is as complete an example of Chinese mendaciousness as any ever afforded. The statement rests on the sole authority of the mandarin Chin-ta-gin, who, on being "closely questioned" by Lord Macartney, professed to have had it from a particular friend at Pekin[1]: this mandarin was the very same veracious personage who avouched to Lord Amherst that he had himself witnessed the due performance of the ko-tow by the former nobleman. The document, as Malte-Brun observes, bears on its very face the marks of fabrication, and therefore never imposed upon that profound writer. On the contrary, in his great work, he estimates the population of the Chinese empire at considerably less than half of this amount, namely, at 150 millions. These differences are wide and irreconcileable, and involve consequences of the most contrary nature; it cannot therefore be difficult to discover, by the evidence of collateral facts, which of the statements is sanctioned by truth.

(14) The vastness of the Chinese empire, and the extraordinary fertility of its soil, are not matters in dispute. The first question then which arises is, as to the extent of its cultivation, whether the representations of the anti-populationists on this head, which need not be repeated here, are true; and the whole surface of the country under culture?

(15) In determining this point, we shall not trust

[1] Macartney, Journal of an Embassy, pp. 371, 372.

to the representations of the early missionaries, who, however honestly disposed, had no means of determining it, as they only saw the best peopled parts of the country[1], and were very ignorant of, or otherwise generally exaggerated, the appearance of things in these[2]. Abundance of proofs, however, might be advanced even from their writings. Père Burgeois, for instance, says, that in travelling over an extent of country almost the size of France, he saw neither woods, nor fountains, nor gardens, nor vines, nor fruit trees[3]: or, in other words, it was totally uncultivated; a representation in accordance with that of P. Attiret, and others of the same fraternity[4]. But to refer to later writers:

(16) De Guignes says he travelled through whole districts, of which no portion was thrown into cultivation[5]. Malte-Brun observes, that even on the road from Pekin to Canton, there are extensive tracts in a state of nature[6], while the western provinces, according to the accounts of the Chinese, contain a still larger extent of barren land[7]. He notices also those "forests of immense extent" which are known to exist in China[8]; indeed he particularizes a part of one province as "presenting nothing to the view but an "uncultivated soil, and mountains covered with thick "forests[9]." Described by our own countrymen, we find "extensive wastes, where not a single trace was "visible of any kind of cultivation," and where not a single dwelling occurred for the distance of many miles[10]: of districts, only a small part of which was under cultivation[11]: of wild wastes of reeds and rank

[1] P. Attiret.
[2] See Du Halde and others.
[3] Mémoires concernant les Chinois, t. viii., p. 293, &c.
[4] Lett. Edif. et Curieuses, vol. xxvii.
[5] De Guignes, China.
[6] Malte-Brun, Géog., t. xlii., p. 562.
[7] Ibid., p. 563.
[8] Ibid., p. 565.
[9] Ibid., p. 588.
[10] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 514.
[11] Ibid., p. 70.

grasses[1], than which it is scarcely possible for the imagination to form to itself an idea of a more desolate region[2]: of sixty miles together flat, but uncultivated, except in places where they observed some fields of rice[3]: of abundance of land that did not seem for many years to have felt the ploughshare[4]: of parts of the country described as actually "uninhabited[5]." Indeed we are assured, that a very considerable proportion of the richest land, perhaps, in the whole empire is suffered to remain an unproductive waste.

(17) These, with their supposed knowledge of draining[6], together with their almost total neglect of it, are an undeniable proof of a scanty population. The number and immense extent of the morasses of the empire[7], which are perfectly reclaimable, and the general absence of terrace cultivation, especially in a rice country, a fact which is asserted by Abel[8], Barrow[9], Ellis[10], and many others, are perfectly conclusive on this head. De Guignes observes, that wherever the flat country is sufficient, even the slightest elevations remain untilled[11]. But it seems superfluous to continue these observations when we know, on the authority of Barrow, that he passed through districts where even a considerable proportion of perhaps the

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 533.
[2] Ibid., p. 533.
[3] Ibid., p. 535.
[4] Ibid., p. 554.
[5] Ibid., p. 514.
[6] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 147.
[7] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 505. "One continued swamp or morass beyond the reach of sight," p. 512. For three days' journey the whole of this extensive plain consisted in lakes or swampy ground, p. 506. Except on the water and the islands, the whole of the swampy country might be said to be uninhabited, and totally void of any kind of cultivation, p. 507. The country began to assume the uniform appearance of one extended marsh, without any visible signs of cultivation, p. 532.
[8] Abel, Narrative of a Journey to China, pp. 201, 202.
[9] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 568. His words are, "Terracing the hills is "not to be considered by any means as "a common practice in China. In our "direct route it occurred only twice, and "then on so small a scale as hardly to "deserve notice."
[10] Ellis, Journal of Embassy to China, p. 366.
[11] De Guignes, China, p. 202.

richest land remained untilled[1]. Near the large towns and villages the lands appear to be minutely cultivated[2], but not always even there[3]; while "at a distance they are suffered to remain almost useless[4];" as is the case in all half-peopled countries.

(18) But, if it be an egregious misstatement to describe the whole land of China as cultivated, it is equally erroneous to represent that the part which is so, is dedicated to the production of food for man alone. It is, on all accounts, singular, that such an opinion should have been hazarded, and particularly because, in the first place, the dead occupy an enormous proportion of the surface of the country, and, not unfrequently, the most valuable situations[5]. Their burial grounds are extremely numerous. Sir George Staunton describes one of them extending as far as the eye could reach. The limits were thus large, as he informs us, owing to that respect paid to the dead by the Chinese, which prevents them opening a grave upon any spot where the traces of a former one remain[6]; which, moreover, are always sacredly preserved. This custom occasions a part of that cost in funerals, which, as Barrow observes, are more extravagantly expensive there than an European can well conceive[7]. The fact is mentioned with a reference to a further part of this inquiry. The consequences of this custom, as it regards the present branch of the subject, were such as even surpassed the credibility of one of the brethren of the Edifying Letters. F. de Tartre says, that he "could not believe all are interred in this manner, as, in a *little* time, the dead would take up as much room as the

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 557.
[2] Ibid., p. 570.
[3] Abel, Narrative of a Journey, &c., p. 204.
[4] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 570.
[5] Von Braam, "Vallies entirely so appropriated," vol. i., p. 147. Du Halde, vol. i., p. 307. "Extensive plains appropriated for the dead." Barrow, p. 497. Staunton, p. 445.
[6] Staunton, Embassy to China, p. 364.
[7] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 175.

"living[1]." Mr. Malthus argues, somewhere, that the religious observances of communities are often dictated by their general necessities: how does such a notion comport with these extensive sacrifices of the surface of the country to the dead? If it were surcharged with numbers, as he supposes, could such a custom, however instituted, be possibly continued?

(19) It is hardly worth while to contradict another proof of the extreme populousness of China, namely, the little land taken up in roads, which, it is said, "are few and narrow." The same may be asserted of any half-peopled country; and it was the case in England a couple of centuries ago. The roads here were then few enough, and, being principally traversed by pack-horses, were often worn into defiles, so narrow, as to render it necessary for the leaders to wear bells, in order to prepare for the circumstance of a meeting. But, in this respect, it happens that China has the advantage; owing, perhaps, in part, to the whole of the land being supposed to be vested in the sovereign[2], and, consequently, a kind of public property. Hence, the imperial roads are said to be triple, one being appropriated to the emperor, another to his attendants, and the third to the public at large[3], a refinement upon regal prerogative which argues but little in favour of the parsimony with which land is appropriated to these communications. The other public roads are invariably described as fine[4], and, as Duhalde informs us, "commonly very broad[5];" with which Von Braam concurs[6]. We may judge of the width of that leading to the capital, from the circum-

[1] Edifying Letters, p. 220.
[2] Macartney, Journal of an Embassy, &c., p. 379. Barrow, Travels in China, p. 468.
[3] Staunton, vol. ii., p. 279.
[4] Du Halde, China, tom. ii., p. 52. De Guignes, tom. ii., pp. 215. 216. Bell of Autermony, Travels to Pekin, pp. 349, 363.
[5] Du Halde, China, tom. i., p. 265.
[6] Von Braam, Dutch Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 93.

stance of "eighteen or twenty feet, in its centre, being paved[1]." Respecting the by-ways of China, I imagine too little is known to bring them in proof of the geometric theory. F. le Compte, however, tells us, that "we cannot imagine what care they take to make "even the common roads convenient for passage." He says, "they are fourscore feet broad, or near it[2]." So much for the argument regarding Chinese roads; but, if they were as narrow as represented, and as execrable as possible, I should scarce admit the information in proof of an excess of population, but rather of the reverse.

(20) Nor is the assertion more correct in other respects, which represents the whole surface of the country employed in the production of human food only. Whether there be no meadow, and very little pasture, and no cultivation pursued for the support of cattle of any kind or not, it is unnecessary to dispute. Barrow asserts that there is both[3]; and, as for cattle, they are in sufficient abundance[4]. The Chinese, however, rejecting, in a great measure, milk, butter, and cheese[5], and, like most other easterns, being very sparing in the use of animal food, which does not constitute the chief luxury, even among the higher classes; and, when using it, preferring swine's flesh, for which Europeans give them the credit of good taste; it would be absurd to suppose that they would attend to the breed of cattle beyond their necessities. But they are not limited, in this respect, by the want of room; and if the flocks and herds, as well as horses, are not numerous, particularly in the northern

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 91.
[2] Le Compte, Travels through China, p. 309.
[3] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 83.
[4] Von Braam, Dutch Embassy, vol. ii., pp. 246, 248, &c. Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 171. "Many oxen, cows, buffaloes, and goats, and of swine a vast number." Marc Polo, Travels, p. 549.
[5] Encyc. Brit., Supplement, vol. iii., p. 103.

provinces, there is a fatality about all the information communicated concerning that country[1]. Of the latter, horses, an immense number, we are told, is provided for the public couriers, and the cavalry of the empire consists of 410,000[2]. Marco Polo says, "200,000 are employed in the department of the "police[3]," and that the imperial stud amounts to 10,000[4]. The mention of the latter fact reminds me of one of the descriptions in the "Lettres Edifiantes," which is little reconcileable with many of the rest. We are there informed, that the emperor goes forth to the chase, (still the favourite court diversion,) accompanied by fifty thousand attendants; but, in a country wholly and minutely cultivated, almost entirely without meadows or pastures, and where the surface is tilled for human food alone; where the roads are so few and narrow, and no land is suffered to lie waste for the caprice or sport of great proprietors: where it was that this patron of agriculture, his Celestial Majesty, hunted; what was the game he pursued, and how he and his fifty thousand sportsmen were mounted, we are not informed; these curious circumstances remain, amongst other mysteries in these edifying volumes, which we are not permitted to fathom.

(21) The industry, intelligence, and skill, with which agriculture, which is represented as the almost universal calling, is pursued, is so insisted upon as to render any material accession to the population of China impossible, and any improvement in their present condition hopeless. But this is as fallacious an assumption as any of the former ones. One of the

[1] Von Braam, Dutch Embassy to China, vol. ii., pp. 109, 246, 248; vol. i., p. 138, 179, 266. M'Leod, Narrative, p. 58. Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 176. Lord Macartney, Journal of the Embassy, p. 369.

[2] Asiatic Journal, Sept. 1825, p. 294.

[3] Marco Polo, Travels, p. 363.

[4] Ibid., p. 251.

most accurate observers, Barrow, has remarked, on this subject, that "a very erroneous opinion has "been entertained in Europe with regard to the skill "of the Chinese in agriculture." He says their implements are bad, their ploughing bad, which is performed by the dragging of mules, asses, and old women; that they have no knowledge of the breeding of cattle, nor of instruments for breaking up and preparing waste lands; no system of draining[1]. But I will not continue this description, but refer to the author I have been quoting, and to the article on China, in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, where the subject is particularly adverted to. I shall conclude with an observation from the former writer, who says, "let 50 or 100 acres of the best "land in China be given to a farmer, and so far from "making out of it the value of three rents, on which "our farmers usually calculate, he would scarcely be "able to support his family, after paying the expense "and labour that would be required to work the "farm[2]." He adds, however, that in minute spade husbandry, the Chinese may be more than equal to Europeans[3]. In this respect they probably deserve the encomiums of Lord Macartney, Von Braam[4], and others; the former of whom denominates them "the best husbandmen in the world[5]." The fact, therefore, is, that they can and do prosper by the complete cultivation of a small surface, when they would be ruined on a more extensive one; and this is the real cause of that degree of comfort which is observable amongst the Chinese peasantry in the more crowded districts of

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 567.
[2] Ibid., p. 569.
[3] Ibid., p. 570. "The Chinese never "broad cast, but plant their corn in "trenches."—Von Braam, vol. i., p. 95.
[4] Von Braam, Dutch Embassy to China, vol. i., p. 47.
[5] Macartney, Journal of an Embassy, p. 360.

the country: a similar fact has been no secret in agriculture, ever since it has been treated as a science, for these two thousand years past, and verified before our eyes in various parts of the world; one which philanthropy has always cherished, and which true political philosophy will, ere long, recognize, even in this country, where mercenary calculations, as false in a pecuniary, as pernicious in every other point of view, have tempted the wealthy and the powerful to an opposite course, to the utter ruin of multitudes of the best, though humblest, class of the community, and to the injury of the remainder: and, if persisted in, it will be to the peril, ultimately, of those rights of property thus abused in their administration.

(22) Other facts, detailed as something preternatural by "weak and wondering travellers," as Adam Smith calls some of our Chinese authorities, have been eagerly adopted by many of "the philosophers of Europe" in proof of the excessive population and consequent distress of the Chinese empire; which, were they not repeated with so much confidence as bearing on the subject, would not, as totally irrelevant to it, now be noticed. I will only mention two of these arguments. The first is this: the promiscuous use of animal food, and, consequently, of some kinds which are loathsome to us in England, is held to be a proof of the same sort of distress which could alone induce such a circumstance here; whereas, it is no proof of distress at all, but only of the dissimilar habits of the country. "The people," as Sir George Staunton says, "know no distinction of clean and unclean meat. "The preference given to one species of animal food "before another, they reckon as little more than a "matter of taste or fancy[1]." Hence, Du Halde, speak-

[1] Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 399.

ing of the food of the Chinese, informs us "they are very well pleased with horses, dogs, cats, rats[1]," and adds some other curious Chinese edibles. As to the first description of food mentioned, it is one of the characteristics of the ancient race from which they undoubtedly sprung. The Scythians were even called hippophagi[2]; and "the taste for horse-flesh," as Malte-Brun observes, "appears peculiar to the Mongols, "Tartars, Finns, and other descendants of the Scy- "thians; and to the Sclavonic and Gothic nations[3]." Hence, our Saxon ancestors partook of it[4]. In the north-eastern parts of the world where the tribes of mankind yet retain their primitive manners, it still remains a favourite repast[5]. It is unnecessary to observe, that it could never be generally resorted to from a principle of economy or "a want of room:" but, to end all conjectures on that point, we know that as it was the favourite food of the nobles among our early ancestors[6], so it still remains, where it is used at all. The Tartars are fond of horse-flesh, as the celebrated geographer, quoted so often, remarks; but, as it is expensive, beef is more generally used[7]. Lastly, Abel also informs us, that in the markets of China, "horse-meat sold at a higher price than beef[8]."

(23) The eating of dogs, which may create in us still stronger feelings of aversion, proceeds from the same cause; but it is a practice which prevails to a much wider extent. That the Greeks ate dog's-flesh we have on the authority of Hippocrates[9]; so also

[1] Du Halde, China, vol. i., p. 314.
[2] Bacon, Nat. Hist., cent. ix. § 859.
[3] Malte-Brun, Géog., l. xxiii., p. 597.
[4] Turner, Hist. of Anglo-Saxons, vol. iv., p. 61.
[5] Marco Polo, Travels, pp. 204, 309. Bell, of Autermony, Travels, vol. i., pp. 34, 199. Cochrane, Journey through Russia, &c., vol. ii., p. 110.
[6] Mallet, Northern Antiquities, vol. i., p. 115.
[7] Malte-Brun, Géog., l. xxxvi., p. 383.
[8] Abel, Narrative of a Journey to China, p. 231.
[9] Dr. Campbell, Survey, vol. ii., p. 205.

did the Romans[1]. In Otaheite, we are informed, a boiled puppy is considered a delicacy[2]; nor is it one which is unappreciated in one of the most luxurious countries in Europe[3]. It would, perhaps, disparage the argument to add, that the blacks are fond of them[4]. But, to come to the point, Finlayson, who has observed upon the habit, on the spot, adds, "scarcity of food cannot be urged in extenuation of the practice, if, indeed, it require extenuation[5]." We are, of course, not disputing about national tastes, but national necessities, and the fact is, that the eating of dog's-flesh by the Chinese does any thing rather than prove the latter. An authority, to whom Mr. Malthus will, perhaps, defer, and who will be quoted in the conclusion of these remarks, says, "they account dog's-flesh delicate[6];" and hence they are fattened, and regularly sold in the shambles of China[7].

(24) The remaining part of the catalogue may be dismissed in few words, and in a manner quite satisfactory to the most confirmed epicure. "Dogs, cats, "and rats," says Abel, "are exposed to sale, and "eaten by those who can afford to purchase other "food. In a shop at Ta-sung, the same price, about "eighteen pence, was asked of one of the embassy, "for a pheasant, and a cat[8]." And to defend the Chinese taste, by that of a missionary, "I myself," says Father Navarette, "have eaten of a horse, dogs, "and mice, and, in truth, I liked them well[9]."

(25) But the proof of the general distress of the

[1] Dr. Campbell, Survey, vol. ii., p. 205.
[2] Dr. Irvin, Letters on Sicily, p. 31.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Dr. Campbell, Survey, vol. ii., p. 205.
[5] Finlayson, Mission to Siam and Hue, p. 17.
[6] F. Dominick Fernandez Navarette, Account of China, Collection of Voyages and Travels, vol. i., p. 59.
[7] Marco Polo, Travels, p. 390, note.
[8] Abel, Narrative of a Journey to China, p. 231.
[9] Navarette, Account of China, vol. i., p. 60.

Chinese, founded on such habits as these, is futile altogether. When we hear in Europe of one neighbouring country placing frogs, or another snails, and so on, in the catalogue of their delicacies, and when we are aware, also, that we value food which they as peremptorily reject; do we conclude each other to be in a state bordering on actual starvation, and miserable from want of room? Certainly not. And if the Chinese, who are often represented to us as the greatest epicures living[1], use a larger variety of food than many other countries, and include in it dishes (not meaning birds' nests) which it would not be quite decent to express[2], are we thence to conclude, that they are suffering under an excess of population, with all the evils which it occasions, and dictating the necessity of its repression? The supposition is absurd.

(26) But the argument just disposed of has some colour of reason, how little soever it bears examination, compared with those in proof of the same supposed fact, which are founded upon the penurious employments of some part of the Chinese population, such us the gathering rags, bones, and even ordure[3]. Where is the city of Europe in which there are not those who follow these avocations? One word respecting the last. Much is said regarding the care they manifest in collecting their stercoraceous stock. And in a country where, we are informed, there is hardly any, and where, we are willing to admit, there is not much pasturage; and where, therefore, tillage is in a very undue proportion, can any thing be more rea-

[1] Du Halde, China, vol. ii., pp. 63, 103, 491.—Finlayson, Mission, &c., p. 62.—"Every one is sure there of finding a "repast to his taste, and the means of "guarding against that want of aliment, "which the Chinese, perhaps, are as "little able to endure, as any other nation "whatever."—Von Braam, Dutch Embassy to China, vol. i., p. 69.

[2] Du Halde, China, vol. i., p. 314.

[3] Ibid., vol. i., p. 277.

sonable and certain, than that the agriculturist should eagerly avail himself of every means of obtaining that which is to secure his crop? But have those who use such an argument in reference to China, never seen the same system carried to a far greater height in a country where the pasturage bears probably the largest proportion to the tillage, of any district in the world; and where, therefore, the necessity for such a species of industry, and the value of its results, must be proportionably so much less? Where is the equestrian traveller in England, who has not been solicited in a half serious, half facetious tone, by numbers of poor ragged creatures, who

> Lean pensioners upon the traveller's track,
> Pick up their nauseous dole!

We are informed, indeed, in one of our capitals, even "the modern Athens," the very privilege of monopolizing this Chinese practice is purchased from the constituted authorities, at the annual expense of some thousand Chinese taels.

But I turn from these pretended proofs, equally absurd and revolting, of an excessive population in China, to arguments of a more reasonable and decisive character.

CHAPTER XVI.

OF CHINA: THE ASSERTION THAT INFANTICIDE REGULATES ITS POPULATION, DISPROVED.

(1) It is unnecessary to observe upon the fallacy of the proof of an excessive population in China, founded on the frequency and fatality of epidemics there; as any one, the least conversant with the history of any country, must be well aware that those calamities are evidences of a scanty population, and indeed result from it, in consequence of the imperfect state of cultivation which then exists. The annals of this country, and of all Europe, have placed this fact beyond dispute. It is, however, worthy of remark, that the climate of China seems favourable to health. Sir George Staunton says, "the atmosphere is dry, "and does not engender putrid disorders[1];" and Du Halde expressly asserts, "that the country had been "free from the plague, and almost perpetually at "peace[2]:" disposing, therefore, of two of the main checks to population at once, and in a manner in which he is fully corroborated by subsequent testimony[3].

(2) A few words concerning the preventive check, in reference to China. Perhaps a more striking example of the delusion into which a man may argue himself, in behalf of a favourite notion, could hardly be instanced, than the supposition, or rather assertion,

[1] Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 156.

[2] Du Halde, China, vol. i., p. 240.

[3] Grosier, Gen. Descrip. of China, vol. i., p. 390.

put forth, that the preventive check must operate to a very considerable degree in China. Notwithstanding that the institutions and customs of the country recommend and enjoin marriage[1], as a sacred and indispensable duty[2]; and that it is therefore promoted and facilitated in every possible way, and especially by affording to every individual, on application for it, land for cultivation[3], on the general terms of tenure, which are sufficiently favourable[4]; notwithstanding it is the interest of all to enter into that state, and, as Sir George Staunton has explained, especially of the poor, with whom it is there a matter even of prudence[5]; notwithstanding "the passion between the sexes," of the universality and effect of which so much has been needlessly said[6], and although celibacy is accounted infamous in China[7], and to be without offspring a disgrace[8]; still our theorists pronounce that to be common[9], and this consequently still more so. This is reasoning to some purpose! Nor is this all. Though we are positively informed as to the effect of these institutions and customs, by competent and personal witnesses, and though they are what reason itself compels us to believe, namely, that marriage is general[10], that it takes place soon in life[11], and consequently "the small number of single men[12]" is made matter of particular observation; in short, that "the system of early and universal marriage[13]" is established in China; still the theory of population

[1] Grosier, Gen. Descrip. of China, vol. i., pp. 389, 390, 391.
[2] Du Halde, China, vol. i., p. 303.
[3] Macartney, Journal of an Embassy, &c., vol. ii., p. 379.
[4] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 568.
[5] Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 157.
[6] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 347.
[7] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 588.
[8] Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 152.
[9] Malthus, Essay on Population, pp. 154, 155.
[10] Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 374.
[11] Ibid., vol. ii. pp. 152, 157.
[12] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 157.
[13] Ibid., p. 114.

requiring it to be otherwise, reason and fact and authority are in this, as in so many other cases, held as nothing. We are not, however, to be thus dispossessed of truth and common sense. The influence of the preventive, or, indeed, of any of the checks to population, among the Chinese, may be described in the language of a recent and intelligent witness. "They are for the most part sober; they marry early, "and are therefore less exposed to the temptations of "debauchery, and less liable to contract the diseases "which corrupt the springs of life; their lives are "regular and uniform, &c.[1]" Such is the result of the experience of Sir George Staunton upon these subjects, who is almost the only modern authority which Mr. Malthus has quoted.

(3) But of all the circumstances which have contributed to spread the idea of an excessive population in China, the supposed prevalence of infanticide has been the most conclusive. The very existence of such a crime, coupled with other relations regarding that country, has been held good evidence of the abject misery into which the mass of the community is plunged from that cause, though nothing can be conceived to be a less unequivocal proof of it. Whether this "prevailing stubborn vice of antiquity[2]," which has affected all ancient states, and has continued to be practised, if not tolerated, wherever Christianity has not been established, especially where the inhabitants are few in number, and wholly uncivilized in their condition, infests China or not, to a much greater extent, or more openly than it does other countries, is not the question; it is, whether it exists in consequence of the general indigence of the people, and is

[1] Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 374.

[2] Gibbon, Decline and Fall, vol. viii., p. 56.

so prevalent as to diminish, in any sensible degree, the amount, and check the growth, of the general population. To this inquiry we may happily answer, and with the fullest confidence, in the negative.

(4) Were we to take the largest calculation given to us of the loss of life occasioned by this practice in the Chinese Empire, the sum is too insignificant to have the slightest perceptible effect on the total amount of the inhabitants[1]. But there are reasons suggested even by those who have presented us with these accounts, inducing us to believe that many of the exposures which they enumerate, are, in no manner whatsoever, connected with this crime, and considerable grounds of hope, that even none of them may be so: they are these.

(5) The number of infanticides is principally calcalculated by the exposure of the dead bodies of children, especially in the capitals; for, elsewhere, even Du Halde almost denies the practice[2]. But, let this circumstance be explained, not by writers "in "the heart of Europe, who are busying themselves" in building theories upon the condition of the Chinese, but by those who have witnessed the fact. "The "dead bodies of children, which the police of Pekin "collect in the streets, are those of infants who have "died, and which have been thus disposed of by their "indigent parents, to avoid the expense of a burial." So far Bell[3], and De Guignes[4]. Barrow gives precisely the same relation, with further particulars. "Still-born infants," says he, "or infants who may "die in the first month, are laid in baskets, even by "persons in comfortable circumstances, knowing that "they will be taken up by the police, to avoid the

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, pp. 170, 175, 176.
[2] Du Halde, China, vol. i., p. 277.
[3] Bell of Autermony, vol. iii., p. 383.
[4] De Guignes, China, vol. ii., p. 285—290.

"expense of a funeral," which, he observes, "is "more extravagantly expensive than an European "can well conceive[1]." A very simple calculation in political arithmetic will soon shew us that these exposures must, under such circumstances, be numerous enough to originate the most exaggerated of the suppositions regarding Chinese infanticide, on the part of those who were strangers to the fact and the country.

(6) There is, however, doubtless, in the cities of China, a description of persons who exist equally in all the capitals and great towns of Europe, who, either from poverty, think themselves authorized, or from less justifiable motives, are induced, to abandon the support of their offspring to others who are more wealthy, or to institutions provided for that purpose. Regarding the latter, different forms of introduction prevail in different places; in some foundling hospitals, I believe the infant had only to be deposited in a certain place, and a bell rung. In China, where the climate fully admits of the variation, it is placed in a certain part of the streets: regarding these, Bell, a traveller, who has been often deservedly eulogised, says, that persons "are sent out through the streets "every morning to pick up and carry such children as "they may find exposed, to public hospitals appointed "for their reception[2]." Barrow also speaks of the "foundling hospitals of China[3]." But we have the same information even in the Edifying and Curious Letters. "There are here," says one of the missionaries, "two sorts of deserted children," (enfans abandonnés,) "the one are carried to an hospital "which the Chinese call 'House of Mercy:' they

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 175.
[2] Bell of Autermony, vol. ii., p. 105.
[3] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 176.

"are there entertained at the expense of the emperor. "The edifice is vast and magnificent, where every "thing is provided which is necessary for the sus- "tenance of these poor children. The other aban- "doned children are taken to our church [1]."

(7) But, in addition to these, there are other powerful reasons for believing that infanticide cannot prevail, or, at least, in more than a very slight degree, in China. As to being driven to this act by necessity, in the first place, we are informed, that "Every male child "may be provided for, and receive a stipend from the "moment of his birth, by his name being enrolled in "the military list [2]." Then, as to female children, to whom infanticide, if it exist at all, must be, in great measure, confined, owing to the prevalence of the absurd doctrine of Yin and Yang, which sets so superior a value upon every thing masculine [3]; these, it is sufficiently well known, are valuable even as an article of sale [4], concerning the disposal of whom, De Guignes says [5], "that if misfortune is often the cause "of this unnatural act, interest is yet oftener so, as "many female children are not found upon sale, "without a great number of purchasers [6]." We are not all this while to imagine that the Chinese are divested of natural affection; on the contrary, Lord

[1] Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses, tom. xix., p. 248.

[2] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 588.

[3] Milne, Retrospect of Protestant Missions to China, p. 38. Du Halde, China, vol. ii., p. 112.

[4] Marco Polo, Travels, p. 542. Du Halde, vol. i., p. 305. "The girls bought up elsewhere, are brought up in the cities of Yoing-cheu and Sû-cheu." Barrow, Travels in China, p. 518. Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 366.

[5] De Guignes, tom. ii., p. 292. Respecting these sales, whether of boys or girls, to which Mr. Malthus pointedly alludes, the author, in the text, speaks as to the tenderness and affection with which they are treated: an account which perfectly comports with what we meet with elsewhere on the same subject. I heartily wish the same could be truly asserted respecting the apprenticing of the children of paupers of large towns, in this country, too often sent to distant parts, and to toilsome occupations. But we are apt to be imposed upon by specious names; and conduct to these unfortunates is passed by unnoticed, which, were it transferred to the slave, would not be endured.

[6] Ibid., tom. ii., p. 293.

Macartney, as well as Ellis and others, notice their "extreme parental fondness[1]," and strong desire for posterity[2]. We may, therefore, suppose, without any outrage of probability, that this very transfer of their children is even dictated by it: indeed, we read in Marco Polo, that "the indigent sell their children to "the rich, in order that they may be fed and brought "up in a better manner than their own poverty would "admit[3]." But we must stretch our credulity, regarding human wickedness and cruelty, to the utmost possible extent, to believe that, under all these circumstances, infanticide can be prevalent in China.

(8) Enough, it is presumed, has been already advanced on this head as it respects the argument, but not as much as is consistent with truth, or necessary to the defence and consolation of humanity. It is pleasing to add, that the crime of child murder, if it prevail at all in China, prevails to a very slight degree. In proof of this, I might adduce the authority of many writers who have founded their opinion upon long personal observation, such as Mr. Wilkinson, who declares that he never saw a single instance of it[4]; of De Guignes, who, with every opportunity which long and varied observation could afford, asserts the same thing[5], and of several others; but a quotation from the work of a gentleman connected with our last embassy to that country shall suffice. Mr. Ellis remarks, "that supposing any of the statements respecting in- "fanticide had been well founded, it will scarcely be "believed that in passing over its populous rivers, "through upwards of sixteen hundred miles of country, "we should meet with no proofs of its mere existence.

[1] Lord Macartney, Journal of an Embassy to China, p. 416. Ellis, Embassy to China, p. 234.
[2] Du Halde, China, vol. i., p. 304.
[3] Marco Polo, Travels, p. 542.
[4] Wilkinson, Sketches of Chinese Customs, &c., p. 127.
[5] De Guignes, China.

"Yet such has been the fact; for not even that very "equivocal and variously explained circumstance of "infants supported above water by gourds fastened to "their necks, fell under our notice, nor indeed any "thing which could lead to a belief in its practice. "The experience of De Guignes, whom," says he, "I "have so often quoted, and of whose accuracy we all "had frequent proofs, was of a similar nature. He has "had occasion to declare, 'that in his route through the "whole extent of China, in travelling by water he "never saw an infant drowned; and in travelling by "land, although he had been early in the morning in "cities and in villages, and at all hours on the high-"ways, he never saw an infant exposed or dead[1].'" He goes on to remark that Mr. Barrow spoke of it merely on report, but that the infanticide which is said to occur in dreadful scarcities ever materially affects the population, he says, "the entire absence of "all evidence within our experience, even of its mere "existence, does not allow me to believe." The same writer elsewhere observes, that of the degree of distress which might drive parents to such a crime there was no appearance, nor did any fact of the description come within his knowledge[2].

[1] Ellis, Journal of an Embassy to China, p. 234. [2] Ibid., p. 431.

CHAPTER XVII.

OF CHINA: THE ARGUMENT OF ITS EXCESSIVE POPULATION FOUNDED ON THE SUPPOSED INDIGENCE AND DISTRESS OF ITS INHABITANTS, DISPROVED.

(1) LET us now advert to the condition of the people of China, in disproof of its alleged excess of population. Mr. Malthus, as we have seen, attributes to the "extraordinary encouragements to marriage[1]," that redundancy of inhabitants which he asserts "has "completely interrupted the happiness which the "rest might have enjoyed[2]," and that the country "is "already insufficient to support the overflowing mul- "titude[3];" hence those sufferings and crimes, which I will not distress the reader's feelings by again enumerating.

(2) In controverting this statement, I do not mean to deny that there is in China, as every where else, indigence. No state of society ever was or ever can be exempt from *it*; and that in which the population is scanty, least of all. Nor *will it* be confined to those who, in the humbler walks of life, are incapacitated from labour by sickness or debility, whether of mind or body. In a country where the soil is appropriated, it will, on the contrary, be found to take its rise also from occasional want of employment. From distress, attributable to these causes, the population of China, no more than that

[1] Malthus, Essay on Population, p. 154.
[2] Ibid., p. 153.
[3] Ibid., p. 158.

of any other country, is exempt; but it no more amounts to a proof that it is over-peopled, than the necessity for instituting a legal relief of the poor in the early stages of American colonization demonstrates that the settlements were then surcharged with people. I am aware that it is held by the anti-populationists, that continuing to afford this relief, especially where the population is already considerably increased in numbers, involves a physical impossibility; but I will leave them to solve the difficulty into which they have precipitated themselves, by explaining how their views of the immensity and excess of the inhabitants of China, comports with a legal system for the relief of indigence, more comprehensive, perhaps, than exists in any other country in the world. In the extensive districts of that empire, land, as before observed, may be obtained by any one upon application, and on favourable terms [1]; while all the waters of the empire, the lakes and rivers of which are very numerous [2], and which, we are informed, yield fish in "prodigious quantities [3]," are free to every inhabitant [4]. In the cities, where other pursuits prevail, the distressed and unemployed poor have not merely to depend upon the alms of private charity [5]; but can be supported, as Lord Macartney observes, in public hospitals provided for that purpose [6]. And this provision is of

[1] Laws of China, Staunton, Book ii., § 90, p. 95.

[2] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 558.

[3] Du Halde, China, vol. ii., p. 303.

[4] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 558.

[5] If the moral precepts published in China have any influence on public feeling and conduct, the duty of charity must be extensively practised in that country. "When I see," says one of these, "that any one is dipt in misfortune, and that he has not wherewithal to extricate himself, or that another suffers a great deal from want, though I may not have much to spare myself, yet I will assist them, and believe it to be my duty to support them as far as I am able."—Du Halde, Maxims of the Chinese, vol. ii., p. 77. And again, the following extract contains a sentiment worthy of Christianity, though exceedingly decried by our modern theorists:—"If you relieve a poor man, never be solicitous to know by what means he came into misfortune, for such a knowledge might raise your indignation against him, and stifle the first sentiments of your compassion."—Ibid., p. 65.

[6] Macartney, Journal of an Embassy, &c., p. 458.

ancient date. Marco Polo says, "if they notice any "person who, from lameness, or other infirmity, is "unable to work, they place him in one of the hospi- "tals, of which there are several in every part of the "city, founded by the ancient kings and liberally en- "dowed[1]." The patriarchal system of that country is also highly favourable to the purposes of charity; it confides to their children the care of the aged, and if the latter have no surviving offspring, then the next of kin must supply their place[2]. Meantime, distributions are constantly made by the Emperor, and to a large extent, especially in times of scarcity, when it is his prerogative to "immediately relieve" his people[3]. I am aware that it has been said, the law to that effect is almost a dead letter; it is impossible, however, to believe this, in as much as we find a constant distribution decreed to large numbers of the community, even under ordinary circumstances. An edict of the Emperor Kang-He (I think the reigning one), delivered in the 27th year of his reign, regulates the proportion of relief to be given to the inferior classes, above seventy years of age. The septuagenarians were exempted from service, and had a right to be nourished by the state. To octogenarians were given a piece of silk, a *kin* of cotton, a *shih* of rice, and ten *kin* of food. The nonogenarians had a double portion awarded them[4]. Previously to these specific allowances, an edict of Tay-tsong ordains certain measures of rice to be distributed to the aged, and to every woman who brings forth a son[5]; which last fact is, by the way, a conclusive proof, either that the country is the reverse of over-peopled, or otherwise of

[1] Marco Polo, Travels, p. 559.
[2] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 401.
[3] Staunton, Embassy to China, pp. 89, 90.
[4] Asiatic Journal, Oct. 1826, p. 431.
[5] Du Halde, vol. i., p. 515.

a fatuity in its government wholly unexampled in human affairs.

(3) Such is the provision for the aged and the poor of China; the consequence is precisely what occurs in every country where legal relief is duly afforded: the almost total absence of mendicity. Thus, Barrow says, that he did not observe a single beggar, from one extremity of China to the other, except in the streets of Canton[1], a statement in which he is more than confirmed by Ellis[2]; and Sir George Staunton, in allusion to the subject, asserts, no spectacles of distress are seen[3]; and again, elsewhere, that "none of the people are driven to the necessity, or "inured to the habit of craving assistance from a "stranger[4]." Can it then be possibly true that they murder their own offspring, and have the apology, of being driven to the utmost extremity of human suffering, for so unnatural and horrid a practice?

(4) But it is by no means meant to be contended, that China forms an exception to every other community, in that its industrious classes are far removed from the approaches of comparative poverty; in which case, neither they, nor those of any country upon earth, would long continue to be industrious. We may, therefore, fully credit Sir George Staunton, where he says, that "no small portion of the people "seemed, it is true, to be in a state approaching to "indigence[5]," and also the representation of the condition of some of the commonest artisans, as given by Lord Macartney, where he says, "a common weaver, "joiner, or other tradesman, earns little more than a "bare sustenance[6]." (Would to GOD that the same

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 401.
[2] Ellis, Journal of a late Embassy to China, p. 43].
[3] Staunton, Embassy to China, p. 110.
[4] Ibid., p. 89.
[5] Ibid.
[6] Macartney, Journal of an Embassy, &c., p. 457.

could be asserted of the former class in England at the present moment!) Without dreaming of an overwhelming excess of numbers, we may concur with Grosier, where he says, that "the common people, "who are the suffering part of every country, live "very poorly in China, as well as elsewhere[1]." But, neither in China nor elsewhere, do they suffer from an excess of numbers; on the contrary, in the provinces of that country, some of which are as extensive as are many kingdoms, the population seems the most prosperous where it is the least scattered and scanty. Let us now, therefore, take a view of its general condition, as presented by recent and competent witnesses, taking care to confine our inquiries to the situation of the mass of the community.

(5) The abundance which exists in this vast empire is the theme of almost every writer. Du Halde has an entire chapter "On the Plenty which reigns in China[2]." Marco Polo had long before borne witness to the same fact[3]. F. Alvarez Semeda, who informs us he was twenty-two years a resident in China, says, "as to plenty, Nature seems there to have laid upon "heaps, what she scatters through the rest of the "world[4]." Von Braam speaks of the "signs of "abundance and prosperity every where visible[5]," and dilates upon "the flourishing condition of the country[6]." It is unnecessary to multiply these representations, or to speak of the cheapness with which, if true, they must be accompanied; our information regarding the latter is of such a nature as to appear very extravagant, when compared with European calculations[7].

[1] Grosier, Description of China, l. iv., c. 5, p. 320.
[2] Du Halde, China, vol. i., p. 314.
[3] Marco Polo, Travels, p. 363.
[4] F. Semeda, Account of China, p. 4.
[5] Braam, Dutch Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 159.
[6] Ibid., p. 284.
[7] Marco Polo—Such an abundance, that you may purchase for the value of a Venetian silver groat, a couple of geese, and two couple of ducks, p. 314.

(6) But the extent to which this plenty is distributed is the main question, which I shall not answer by an hypothesis, but in the words of actual witnesses. "I have been much struck," says Ellis, "in all the "Chinese towns and villages with the number of "persons apparently in the middle classes, from which "I am inclined to infer a wide diffusion of the "substantial comforts of life[1]." Again, the same author remarks, that an impression was produced highly favourable to the comparative situation of the lower orders[2]. Von Braam makes a similar remark: "the great number of villages, hamlets, and habita- "tions have the double effect of enriching the land- "scape, and of bringing to the mind the idea of "prosperity and abundance. It was easy also to "perceive, from the crowd of people who flocked to "see us, that the inhabitants are strangers to po- "verty[3]." The appearance of the common people was accordingly, even as remarked by Lord Macartney, who had been sufficiently possessed with the opinion of their excessive numbers, "strong, hardy, industrious, cheerful[4]:" agreeably to the observation of Von Braam, who said, that "the peasantry were a good looking race[5]." Indeed the latter writer says in one place, that "he could venture to assert, that in "the whole space his eyes could reach, in every "direction, there was not a single unpleasant point of "view. Externally every thing wore the appearance

A pico for 125 lbs. of wheat; a pico is five reals. Mutton, one penny per lb. A pigeon, a farthing and a half.—F. Alvarez Semeda, China, pp. 4, 8. A Chinese toss is about the value of one-tenth of a penny; with one of these a man can buy a dish of tea, a pipe of tobacco, or a dram of brandy; and a beggar may dine for three of them.—Bell of Autermony, Travels, vol. ii., p. 38.

[1] Ellis, Journal of an Embassy to China, p. 323.

[2] Ibid., p. 431.

[3] Von Braam, Dutch Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 140.

[4] Macartney, Journal of an Embassy, p. 421.

[5] Von Braam, Dutch Embassy, vol. ii., p. 160.

"of plenty and happiness[1]." Barrow remarks, that "the countenances of the peasants were cheerful, and "their appearance indicative of plenty[2]." Indeed on the authority of the intelligent Dutch writer so often quoted, "the peasantry are very well clad[3]," or, as our own countrymen express themselves, "the "great mass of the people is decently and substan- "tially clothed[4]." In a word, "the apparent happy "condition of the numerous inhabitants was indicated "by their cheerful looks and substantial clothing, "chiefly in silk. Such are the scenes which presented "themselves to our countrymen who composed the "embassy of the Earl of Macartney, and were re- "cently repeated to those who accompanied Lord "Amherst[5]."

(7) But the habitations of a country, as they are certainly the most obvious, so, perhaps, they are not the least decisive proof of the general condition of its inhabitants. Concerning these, Sir George Staunton remarks, that even "the cottages are clean and comfortable[6]." But upon this point, perhaps, the testimony of a Dutchman will be the most conclusive. Von Braam then says, that "the houses "gave them a very favourable idea of the prosperity "of the inhabitants[7]:" and again he remarks, that "the inhabitants must live in the enjoyment of easy "circumstances, since they scarcely saw a single "habitation ill suited to a view embellished with "prosperity[8]." I would, however, prefer bringing home the picture to an Englishman's heart, if the present pernicious system has left him one. "The happy

[1] Von Braam, vol. i., p. 91.
[2] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 558.
[3] Von Braam, Dutch Embassy, vol. ii., p. 160.
[4] Encyc. Brit. Supplement, China, p. 112.
[5] Ibid., p. 110.
[6] Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 108.
[7] Von Braam, Dutch Embassy, vol. i., p. 90.
[8] Ibid., vol. ii., p. 248.

"condition of the peasantry is like that of our ancient "English cottagers, with cow and sheep[1]:" at least to every cottage is attached a small spot of ground for raising culinary vegetables, and about each are a few hogs, the favourite food of the Chinese[2]; and poultry, especially ducks[3], their delicacy[4]. Indeed we are told that "there are few peasants without their breed of hogs[5]." (Would to GOD the same could be asserted of the English peasantry; but the present system of engrossment has almost entirely prevented that source of sustenance to the lower classes!) But to conclude this part of the subject, still confining myself to the humbler walks of life, in the words of Sir George Staunton; "An air of active cheerfulness," says he, "seemed to pervade both sexes. Many of the pea- "sants are owners of the land they cultivate. There "are no great and speculative farmers aiming at "monopoly or combination in the disposal of their "produce, and overwhelming with their wealth the "poorer husbandmen, till they reduce them, at length, "to mere daily labourers[6]."

(8) A single, but important, word may be here added. It is to the minute husbandry of the Chinese, in which they are, on all hands, confessedly unrivalled, that under circumstances otherwise highly unpropitious, this individual, and consequently general prosperity of the peasantry of that mighty empire, is plainly attributable: a system which, most happily for the people, has, as is partially the case in some of the provinces of the Netherlands, if not elsewhere, not only the sanction of custom and benevolence in its

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, p, 561.
[2] The Chinese prefer swine's flesh to all kinds of food. Campbell, Survey, vol. ii., p. 187. It is always cheap. Ibid.
[3] Staunton, Embassy, vol. ii., p. 374.
[4] Grosier, Description of China.
[5] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 549.
[6] Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 367.

favour, but the arm of the law raised in its defence. A system which invariably gives a mass of individual comfort, which none other does or can bestow, and secures it in every condition of society; conferring on a dense population the boon of overflowing plenty of all kinds; and, as in the instance of China, bestowing on a scanty one the advantages which it otherwise rarely enjoys: which, in a country like our own, is equally prompted by the interest of the wealthy, and the comfort of the laborious classes of society; being the best, if not the only, permanent foundation of general happiness and prosperity. It has been unhappily abandoned, to the increasing detriment of every class of society, and to none more than the trading and manufacturing interests of the community.

(9) But to return. The condition of the cultivators of China is thus, in the most emphatical sense of the word, comfortable, and all may belong to that class, if they are so disposed[1], though, as Schoutens observes, "avarice attracts those who should cultivate "some of the wastes of the finest provinces, to the vi- "cinity of the great rivers, and to the cities[2]." Those, then, who voluntarily prefer the latter situations cannot be in a worse condition than the cultivators. We may therefore, perhaps, venture to give credence to Du Halde's assertion, with some limitation, where he writes, that "there is not a person, man or woman, in "China, but what may easily gain a livelihood[3]." It follows, then, that the great mass of the population of China is in very different circumstances to those generally supposed.

(10) On the whole, I feel persuaded that we shall hear less in future respecting the extreme indigence,

[1] Laws of the Chinese, by Sir George Staunton.

[2] Schoutens, Voyage, t. ii., p. 154.

[3] Du Halde, China, vol. i., p. 277.

or the excessive population, of China. Perhaps, indeed, it may be thought that the argument has proved too much, in reference to the great principle, which it is the object of this work to establish, by shewing that China is not fully peopled, and still that, generally speaking, its inhabitants are in the enjoyment of plenty and prosperity. But I think it may be safely asserted, that the population of China, when duly considered, bears ample testimony to the same cheering principle which has been already fully established as regards all other countries. I shall not, however, run into the error which I have deprecated, at all events, by an attempt to demonstrate my theory from the circumstances and situation of a country still so imperfectly known: but two remarks I cannot refrain from making, both of which are strongly confirmatory of the principle for which I am contending throughout. The first is this; that the general diffusion of that comfort and prosperity which we have been proving to exist in China, is, we are assured, confined to its best peopled districts. I shall not reverse the picture which I have sketched, by describing those which are less fortunately circumstanced in that respect, but confine myself to a very brief description of them, as given by an individual who traversed them. He assured Mr. Barrow, that, "having satisfied his curiosity, no "earthly consideration should tempt him to undertake "a second journey by land to the capital," (by water is the frequented and populous route,) "for that he "believed the whole world could not furnish a like "picture of desolation and misery[1]."

(11) The other proof of the principle advocated in this work, as deducible from the condition of this immense empire, is, that as population has increased,

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 514.

instead of adding "so much pure misery," and completely interrupting the happiness of the whole, it has augmented the general prosperity. That the inhabitants have very considerably increased, cannot be doubted, if we either rely on the nature of the case, or credit the, seemingly, authentic facts which are transmitted to us on this subject. And there can be still less doubt but that increasing prosperity has accompanied the augmentation of the population, if we may credit what Adam Smith regards as one of the most unequivocal proofs of that fact, namely, complaints and remonstrances against the prevailing luxury of more recent times. These complaints and remonstrances are not confined, as it respects the Chinese, to the declamations of their writers, but they run through all the recent edicts of the emperors, in which the temperance and frugality of the ancients are recommended[1]. I shall quote only one proof of this convincing fact, which I select from a Chinese treatise on Moral Philosophy, as translated by P. Hervieu and P. Dentrecolles, and given by Du Halde. "The number of mouths every day increases in the "empire. For instance, in my family, says Chin, I "can count a thousand people, including women, for "one that was in it three hundred years ago."— "Whence then comes it to pass that all are supplied, "and that the number of the poor do not increase; "especially as every age finds some new arts of pro- "digality and expense? In former times men con- "tented themselves with plain habitations; now they "covet ornament and sculpture. Modest and cheap "habits were formerly in use; now, nothing but cost "and elegance are in request. Formerly no more than "six dishes were served at an entertainment; now

[1] Du Halde, vol. ii., p. 491.

"there are no limits to the number. The ancient pos-
"session of a single man is now divided among a
"thousand, and yet every one of that thousand would
"raise himself higher than that single man ever
"did[1]." I shall leave this decisive evidence, as to the effect of an enlarging population on the condition of China, in the recollection of the reader, undisturbed by any remarks of my own; it will be the purport of a succeeding book of this work[2] to prove the same cheering fact from those different countries of the world, including our own, with which we are more conversant; in all of which, increasing numbers has been but another term for advancing degrees of prosperity and happiness.

[1] Moral Philosophy of the Chinese; by two native Authors; translated by M. P. Hervieu and P. Dentrecolles, for Du Halde. China, vol. ii., p. 103.

[2] Book V., vol. iii.

CHAPTER XVIII.

OF CHINA: ITS ACTUAL POPULATION STATED FROM OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS.

(1) DISREGARDING the accounts of the population of the Chinese empire, as furnished by "Chinese amplification[1];" and those transmitted to us by the Jesuit missionaries, one of whom informs us that the inhabitants of Pekin amounted in his time to sixteen millions!—and equally rejecting the extravagantly ridiculous estimates, as Malte-Brun justly calls them, of some of our own countrymen already so much alluded to; let us proceed to state, from authentic sources, what the population of that great empire actually is, the amount of which will be so totally different from that usually stated in this country, as to render it necessary to introduce it by quoting the observations of several recent travellers in China, whose impressions, as recorded upon the spot, will sufficiently prepare us for the result, and abundantly confirm it.

(2) Before, however, I conclude this branch of the argument by presenting to the reader these final representations and statements on the subject, it may be proper to suggest a reason or two why those of so contrary and exaggerated a nature should have been put forth; which will, in some measure, exculpate their authors from intentional error. The route by which most of these writers travelled to the im-

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 36.

perial court is not only that between the two great capitals, but also the principal, one might almost say, the only, grand thoroughfare of the empire. That this particular line of country must be far more thickly peopled than the other parts of it, it would have been absurd to doubt, even before direct information to that effect had been published. No principle of political arithmetic, then, could have been more erroneous than that of calculating the population of the empire by that which appeared to exist on the banks of the Grand Canal. But this is a consideration of far less importance than that which follows. The expected appearance of an embassy to their emperor from a distant nation of the world, of totally dissimilar manners, habits, and appearance, must have attracted from all quarters, wherever it was passing, a vast, perhaps a hundredfold addition, to the resident population; so that "spectators," as Von Braam said regarding the Dutch Embassy, "came crowding by "thousands to satisfy their curiosity, and get a sight "of the Europeans[1]." The British embassies probably attracted still more attention[2]. It is quite clear, therefore, that no accurate ideas could be formed of the total population from the crowds assembled, on these occasions, on the banks of the great canal; a circumstance of which recent travellers have become fully aware[3], and have therefore ceased to express themselves in exaggerated terms concerning the overwhelming population of China.

(3) Barrow gives his impressions on the subject in these words: "However unfavourable the country "might be for an extended cultivation, which did not

[1] Von Braam, Dutch Embassy to China, vol. i., p. 79.—See Abel and Ellis.

[2] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 494.

[3] Ellis, Journal of a late Embassy to China, p. 366.

"appear to be the case, the proximity of the capital "would have led me to expect a corresponding popu- "lation. Nothing of the kind appeared. The vast "numbers we had observed in ascending the river "were drawn from the distance of many miles out "of mere curiosity; the inhabitants of the vicinity "now shewed themselves, and we were rather sur- "prised at the fewness of them[1]." Elsewhere he expresses himself to the same effect, and mentions that his expectations, founded on the relations of travellers, were disappointed[2]: "the great road to the "capital," he again observes, "lay across an open "country, sandy and ill cultivated. Few houses on "each side[3]."

(4) Ellis speaks thus on the same subject: "It is "useful to mark the progressive impressions regarding "the amount of population, as the ultimate opinion "will be more accurate from collecting the several "recollections; and, with this view, I must here con- "firm my former assertion, that in the country through "which we have lately passed, with the exception of "Nang-chang-foo, placed, when we passed it, under "circumstances calculated to increase the ordinary "assemblage, no exuberance of population, compared "China with any of the tolerably flourishing countries "of Europe, or Asia, has been observed[4]." Again: "I must confess, that my daily impression is not that "of the superabundant population assigned by most "authors to China; I should almost affirm, that the "population was not more than proportionate to the "land under cultivation—a ratio very inferior to that "usually assigned[5];" "a military mandarin, how-

[1] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 494.
[2] Ibid., p. 84.
[3] Ibid., p. 91.
[4] Ellis, Journal of the Proceedings of a late Embassy to China, p. 366.
[5] Ibid, p. 264.

"ever, observed," continues Mr. Ellis, "that wars "were absolutely necessary to maintain the propor- "tion between the supply and the consumers. It is "something singular to meet a disciple of Malthus "on the Imperial Canal[1]." And let it still be recollected, that it was while floating on this grand artery of the empire, that this partial cultivation and moderate population was witnessed.

(5) I shall give but one other authority, still confining myself to those who were attached officially to our embassies. He says, "the apparent population of "China was not such as he had been led to expect[2];" and again, "the visible population of China did "not appear more than commensurate with the quan- "tity of land under actual cultivation[3]." As this assertion refers to a description he had previously given, to render it intelligible, I must quote, though somewhat out of its place, his impressions respecting the extent of cultivation. "I have already," says he, "stated, that hills capable of terrace cultivation are "often entirely untilled; and I may now make a simi- "lar observation, but with greater limitation, respect- "ing the plains. I might here quote the declaration "of those authors who assert that whole districts "of China are uncultivated and uninhabited; or "those who have, with justice, pointed out the "quantity of land occupied by the burial-grounds of "the Chinese; but I shall content myself with ob- "serving, that much land capable of tillage is left "neglected, and I mean land capable of that kind of "tillage which is understood by the inhabitants. "I often noticed portions of land, even in the vicinity

[1] Ellis, Journal of the Embassy to China, p. 264.

[2] Abel, Narrative of a Journey to China, p. 204.

[3] Ibid., p. 205.

"of cottages and villages, remaining waste, for no "other conceivable reason than because its cultiva- "tion was unnecessary to the support of the neigh- "bouring inhabitants. These facts," he adds, "which "might be deemed of too little importance for asser- "tion in an account of any other country, are of con- "sequence as they regard China—a country of which "it has been asserted, that not an inch of ground is "left uncultivated[1]." It must be still borne in mind, that these observations also are the result of a survey of the country from the Grand Canal. Others, of a precisely similar import, might be added, but it is unnecessary.

(6) To come, then, to a determination as to the real population of China. One of the most profound and accurate geographers of the present, or perhaps of any age, Malte-Brun, after wholly rejecting the exaggerated account relative to the subject, arrives at this conclusion: "Cool and impartial men estimate the "population of China at one hundred and fifty mil- "lions[2]." Probably his opinion was founded upon the census which was taken by the order of the Emperor Kien-Long, and published in the eighth year of his reign, in the Ye-tung-tche, or, "*All matters concerning China;*" which makes the number of the heads of families, paying taxes, to amount to 28,514,488, which, by reckoning five persons to each, would be 142,582,440[3]. Grosier, indeed, makes the amount by adding other classes supposed to be omitted 157,301,755[4]. He speaks, however, hesitatingly, but certainly thinks the account of P. Amiot, who had estimated the population at nearly a third higher

[1] Abel, Narrative of a Journey to China, p. 204.

[2] Malte-Brun, Géog. l. xliv., p. 607.

[3] Encyc. Brit., Supplement, China, p. 103.

[4] Grosier, China, vol. i., p. 365, &c.

namely, two hundred millions, exaggerated[1]. Ellis was informed, also, that by the most accurate Chinese accounts the amount was considerably below that number[2].

(7) Happily for the argument, we have now obtained what may be regarded official information upon this important subject; and as it is given by the Chinese authorities, we need be under no apprehension whatsoever that they will err in deficiency; "there being no reason to suspect them of any inten- "tion," as Ellis observes, "of underrating a circum- "stance so materially connected with their national "greatness[3]." Timkowski, one of a late Russian mission, copies an official account of the population of China Proper, (including the province of Chin-King, or Lias Toung,) taken in the year 1790, which gives the amount at 142,326,734[4]. From a totally different quarter we derive similar facts. Dr. Morrison, one of the Protestant missionaries, who has been long resident in China, and who has done more to make us acquainted with its language than all his predecessors, has translated some statistical accounts of China, taken by order of the present Emperor, Kia-King. According to this census, the total population, including the twelve Tartar banners, and all ranks and conditions, great and small, amounts to between 145 and 146 millions[5]. Lastly, we have, from an official work published in the country, entitled "Tsin-shin," the population of China in 1823; and it amounts to 146,280,163[6], which enumeration is also given in the Appendix to a translation of a Chinese work, by Mr. Thoms, printed at the East India Company's

[1] Grosier, China, vol. i., p. 365.
[2] Ellis, Journal of the late Embassy to China, p. 452.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Timkowski, Travels of the Russian Mission to China, 1827.
[5] Ency. Brit., Supp., art. China.
[6] Asiatic Journal, Sept. 1825, p. 294.

press at Macao, in 1824[1], and copied thence into the Bulletin Universel, in the subsequent year[2], and the Asiatic Journal, at the same period[3]. It comports, very nearly, with Malte-Brun's estimate, and no doubt whatever exists as to its authenticity.

(8) The extent of the Chinese empire is estimated to be, at least, one million and a half square miles, perhaps exclusive of the territory of the Tartar banners; but, to include them, this surface gives, for a population of 146,280,163, only $97\frac{42}{100}$ inhabitants to the square mile,—little more than the relative population in the State of Massachusetts, in North America, less than that of the kingdom of Prussia, and little exceeding two-fifths of that of England.

(9) It has been already seen, that if we deduct one-third of the surface of China, as not improvable, or, at least, not at present improved, there still remain 640 millions of acres cultivated, or nearly $4\frac{1}{2}$ acres to each individual. Now, Mr. Blodget estimated, a few years ago, the land under cultivation in the United States, at 40,950,000 acres, or about $5\frac{3}{4}$ acres each, for the contemporaneous population[4]. Nothing can place the absurdity of what has been industriously scraped together about the overwhelming population of China, and its miserable consequences, in a stronger light, than the simple enunciation of these undeniable facts. America exports a large quantity of the surplus produce of her soil; China, unless teas may be so reckoned, none. The assertion, therefore, that China, notwithstanding its immense extent, its great fertility, its double harvests, and its universal cultivation, does not suffice to keep its inhabitants in a state of the most abject wretchedness, without their being

[1] Thoms, Chinese Courtship, &c. Appendix, p. 323.
[2] Bulletin Universel, Géog. et Statist.
[3] Asiatic Journal, 1825, p. 294, &c.
[4] Malte-Brun, l. lxxix. p. 150.

obliged to have recourse to the most atrocious crimes, is, when thus brought to the test of truth, one of the most preposterous representations ever put forth. The confidence, however, with which this is repeated, not only without, but directly contrary to, all recent and authentic evidence, and the pertinacity with which the opinion thus promulgated is retained, furnish full proof of the justice of an observation of, I think, Locke, that an error boldly put forth and constantly repeated, will gain credence, and continue to maintain itself, in spite of reason and truth, for, perhaps, generations. It is an error, however, which would have had no notice in these volumes, but for the purpose to which it has been applied. Mr. Townsend, and, after him, Mr. Malthus and others, have impugned the institutions of their country, and the laws of Nature, by appealing to the population of China; of which they knew less than nothing, because what they assumed was, as far as the question at issue is concerned, erroneous. The principle of population they broached, and its demonstrations, are thus worthy of each other.

(10) The difficulty is, in every possible view of the question, to account, not for the excess, but the paucity of the population of China. Reasons for this fact have occasionally presented themselves to my mind, or, as I ought rather to express myself, conjectures concerning it, some of which I will suggest to the reader, and leave them to his consideration. There may be much in what Malte-Brun has said, regarding the little tendency of the most ancient races to numerosity; a thought which he exemplifies by the decay of the oldest trees in the forest, while the younger extend afar their spreading branches[1]: there

[1] Malte-Brun, l. xcv., p. 72.

may be still more in the circumstance of the people being so entirely dissevered from connexion with all others; an inveterate habit or feeling, almost amounting to actual vice, and, as having a tendency to divide the brotherhood of human beings into unsocial and disconnected sections, hardly compatible with the views of Universal Providence. At all events, as Dr. Seybert has profoundly observed, it is the contrary practice, that of a mixture of races, which, agreeably to the physical laws of Nature, most conduces to increase[1]. But the universal taste for sedentary enjoyments and avocations[2], if there be any truth in the system of physiology, about to be developed in this work, as far as the question it embraces is concerned, is unquestionably very unfavourable to population: and lastly, those vices, equally heinous and yet more loathsome than infanticide itself, which are understood to prevail in China[3], must still more interfere with their natural increase. But whatever truth there may be in these suppositions, the fact of an inadequate population, infusing languor and listlessness through the whole body politic, and intercepting the advance of the country to higher degrees of prosperity and happiness, is undeniable. Were better principles, civil and religious,—in one word, was Christianity established among them, the growth of the species would inevitably follow. These dry bones would then live. There would be a shaking heard among them. The sinews and flesh—strength and feeling, would come upon them; and they would stand up, a great and mighty army, prepared to assert the best rights, and exercise the noblest functions, of human beings.

[1] Seybert, Statist., Annals of America, p. 52.

[2] Staunton, Embassy to China, vol. ii., p. 71.

[3] Barrow, Travels in China, p. 150. Navarette, Account of China, vol. i., p. 668. La Pédérastie des Chinois, Pallas.

(11) The sole proofs of the theory of human superfecundity, founded, as they are, upon the statistic of America and China, have now been examined; and if facts may be allowed to have any advantage over abstract reasonings, on matters concerning which, after all, human experience can alone determine; and if, in questions of mere numbers, the rules of arithmetic shall continue to be preferred to mere unsubstantiated guesses, then are what have been called the demonstrations of the geometric ratio of human increase overthrown.

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